I think therefore I am ... I think?

Adams, B.G.

Publication date:
2014

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

I THINK THEREFORE I AM … I THINK?

ON THE DIVERSITY AND COMPLEXITY OF IDENTITY

BYRON G. ADAMS

I Think Therefore I Am … I think?

On the Diversity and Complexity of Identity

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan Tilburg University,
op gezag van de rector magnificus,
prof. dr. Ph. Eijlander,

in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van een door het college
voor promoties aangewezen commissie

in de aula van de Universiteit
op woensdag 24 september 2014 om 16.15 uur

door
Byron Gregory Adams
geboren op 22 december 1983
te Hillbrow, Zuid-Afrika

PROMOTIECOMMISSIE

Promotor:

Prof. dr. A. J. R. van de Vijver

Copromotor:

Dr. A. A. Ali

Overige promotiecommissieleden

Prof. dr. Y. H. Poortinga

Prof. dr. J. M. E. Blommaert

Dr. V. L. Vignoles

Dr. T. A. Klimstra

PARANIMFEN

Bilge Karatas

Jia (Jamis) He

Contents

“Sometimes I wrestle with my demons…

…other times we just hug and eat cheesecake”

Anonymous

Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

"Who or What am I?" or "Who or what are you/we?" These questions are central to identity. Depending on an individual's specific scientific, philosophical, or even layman's perspective, these questions may be answered in many different ways. Within the discipline of psychology, there are developmental, social, personality, and cognitive psychological perspectives. This means that identity is defined, conceptualized, and used very differently within different disciplines, which brings into question the identity of identity. In Erikson's (1950) theory of psychosocial development, ego identity, which is the conscious sense of self we develop through social interaction, was defined as a crucial stage in adolescent development. Marcia (1966) further built on Erikson's initial conception with his Identity Status Model (ISM). This model provided a theoretical basis for understanding the psychosocial outcomes of identity by considering aspect of exploration and commitment encompassed in identity development. Marcia argued that identity exploration and identity commitment contribute towards establishing a coherent sense of self, represented by identity achievement in his ISM. Since these modest beginnings, there have been major advancements in modern identity literature, which have culminated in a diverse and complex plethora of identity perspectives. These perspectives are focused on the processes of seamlessly navigating towards developing a coherent sense of self. As these perspectives were mainly developed in Western contexts such as North American or Western European, we[1] wanted to investigate identity, its dimensions, and outcomes in non-Western, developing societies.

What is Identity?

Identity, as both a personal and social level construct, essentially comprises that which makes individuals both distinct from and similar to others (Munday, 2006; Verkuyten, 2005). Identity is the conscious and unconscious process of defining the self though intra-psychic, relational, social, and specific contextual domains (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Deaux, 1993; Dovidio, Gaertner, Pearson, & Riek, 2005; Josselson, 2012). While there are many aspects of identity that are predetermined and considered stable (e.g., biological sex and ethnicity), people also have many choices available with respect to how they define

[1] Due to the fact that the empirical chapters presented in this thesis were produced in collaboration, the term "we" is used instead of "I" when referring to an empirical study to acknowledge the contributions of collaborators as well as maintain consistency throughout this thesis.

who and what they are (e.g., hobbies and work). These latter aspects, generally considered fluid, help individuals express their uniqueness and allow them to select social categories that are meaningful to them. Identity provides us with the social mechanisms to establish awareness about different aspects of 'who and what we are' relative to our social contexts (Ashmore et al., 2004; Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1992; Worrell, Conyers, Mpofu, & Vandiver, 2006). In Brewer's (1999) theory of optimal distinctiveness, uniqueness and belonging are two sides of the same coin the individual has to contend with to achieve an 'optimal' coherent sense of self.

Identity Dimensions

Three core dimensions, referred to as personal identity, social identity, and relational identity, contribute towards our braod understanding of identity. These dimensions are interrelated and are central to understanding the process of self-definition (see Ashmore et al., 2004; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Deaux, 1993; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006). It should be noted that the terms used here are common to European identity literature, while in North-American literature the term collective identity is used in lieu of social identity and the term social identity refers to relational identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Personal identity. Personal identity relates to the consideration of intrapersonal characteristics important for defining the individual. It stems from Erikson's (1968) original conceptualization of ego identity. Here, an internal locus of control prevails that allows individuals to engage in exploration of various identity options before choosing to commit to a series of consecutive life choices (Marcia, 1966). This dimension of identity has been refined to emphasize the individual, and their personal characteristics, goals, values, ideas, emotions, and beliefs. These intrapersonal aspects are important for how the self is defined and these aspects therefore need to be clear, consistent, and in line with individual aspirations (Dovidio, Gaertner, Niemann, & Snider, 2001).

Social identity. Social identity focuses on group membership. It originates from Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory (SIT) perspective. SIT focuses on how group membership influences intergroup relations. Here, an external locus of control prevails and there is a strong focus, commitment, and connection to a social unit or group. Characteristics such as beliefs, values, and goals are in line with group expectations. These characteristics are important because individuals negotiate their identities with the social group in mind and

therefore these characteristics influence the choices they make (Ashmore et al., 2004; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995; Verkuyten, 2005).

There are many aspects of social identity that may be important to people (e.g., ethnic, gender, national, and religious). This thesis focused primarily on two social identity aspects, namely ethnic identity and religious identity. As we were interested in identity in multicultural contexts, particularly South Africa, the most important aspects of social identity within these contexts are related to ethnicity and religion. Ethnicity and ethnic identity comprise the cultural characteristics of specific groups such as the norms, attitudes, and typical behaviors associated with one's ethnic group membership. Individuals share knowledge, feelings, and expectations about people who belong to a specific ethnic group (Phinney; 1992; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Yeh & Hwang, 2000).

Although religion has always been a very important identity marker, it has become more so in the last decade, in part due to the events of September 11, 2001. There has been an increase in social distance between mainstream Christian and (immigrant) Muslim groups particularly in Western contexts (Licata, Sanchez-Mazas, & Green, 2011). Religion is an important cultural variable often associated with ethnic identity (Lopez, Huynh, & Fuligni, 2011; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). In a similar manner to ethnic identity, religious identity relates to an individual's identification as a member of a particular religious group. Religious identity is also norm-based, and relies strongly on incorporating certain social practices, beliefs, and values that guide an individual's moral and concrete decision-making. In addition, religious identity aids the formation of strong social bonds (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009).

Relational identity. Relational identity considers the multiple social roles individuals occupy on a daily basis (e.g., mother, lawyer, wife, and daughter). It combines personal aspects of identity with role related ones in order to account for the interpersonal processes important in portraying a role (Chen, Boucher, & Tapias, 2006; Sluss & Ashforth, 2007). Roles are negotiated within interpersonal spaces, and must be acknowledged by others if they are to be considered legitimate (Vignoles, Schwartz, & Luycks, 2011). Relational identity is often studied within very specific contexts such as work (A. Brown, 2004).

All three dimensions of identity are interrelated (Reid & Deaux, 1996; Sluss & Ashforth, 2007; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Personal identity is negotiated within social contexts that give rise to social and relational identities. Relational identity is an important dimension of identity that requires consideration of very specific contextual aspects in order to be studied

effectively. These contextual aspects associated with relational identity fall beyond the scope of the current thesis, and therefore this thesis focuses primarily on personal and social identity dimensions.

Identity Development

From the Eriksonian perspective, identity formation is considered a crucial developmental task in adolescence. According to Erikson's original conceptualization, identity issues should be resolved during the stage of adolescence. However, recent literature (Arnett, 2000; S. J. Schwartz, Côté, & Arnett, 2005) highlights the fact that identity issues are still being addressed during youth and emerging adulthood (Crocetti, Sica, Schwartz, Serafini, & Meeus, 2013). This is because during this stage emerging adults experience various events that contribute to their self-concept (e.g., career and partner selection). In addition, during middle and late adulthood, major life changes can also result in individuals adjusting their identities (Pulkinen & Kokko, 2000), which would require (re-) exploration and commitment.

From a social psychological perspective, identity emerges from negotiation with others within one's in-group in a specific context (French, Sieman, Allen, & Aber, 2006). Most of the work on social dimensions of identity was conducted in Western contexts where the majority – minority distinction prevails; here the negotiation process is defined by group membership. Thus, depending on whether a person belongs to a majority or minority group, their identity develops in a particular way, as they negotiate towards creating meaning about the value of their group and their membership within that group (Tajfel & Turner; 1986). SIT and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT; Tajfel & Turner 1986; Turner, 1999) proposes that positive distinctiveness would be one social identity developmental outcome, where individuals enhance and promote positive aspects of their own group in comparison with other groups.

Identity development also relates to several individual-level variables such as age and gender. However, findings regarding these relationships have been somewhat inconsistent. While these variables are considered throughout this thesis, in many cases no clear expectations are made regarding them (Crocetti et al., 2013; French et al., 2006; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011)

Identity Outcomes

This thesis focuses on personal and social identity dimensions and the discussion is therefore limited to identity outcomes related to these dimensions. We discuss two relevant psychosocial outcomes related to identity, namely intergroup relations and psychological well-being. Intergroup relations considers how well individuals interact, relate, and identify with members of cultural groups they consider different from their own. SIT and SCT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1999) provides a psychological basis for understanding multicultural dynamics in terms of intergroup relations (R. Brown, 2000; Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). The salience of social identity (i.e., ethnic, cultural, national, religious aspects) influences how individuals and groups define boundaries, especially in contexts where social identity aspects are strongly embedded in personal identity (Verkuyten, 2011).

Psychological well-being considers the personal, social, and contextual aspects important for optimal psychological functioning (Ryff, 1989; see also Van Dierendonck, Díaz, Rodríguez-Carvajal, Blanco & Moreno-Jiménez, 2008). It may include aspects of self-esteem, which is the emotional evaluation of worth or value of the individual or group (Caste & Burke, 2002). Psychological well-being is both theoretically and empirically associated with identity; individuals with a coherent sense of self will often experience higher levels of positive psychological well-being. The relationship between identity and well-being is also relevant in plural societies where individuals may consider their own identity or the identity of their groups to be under constant threat. This may be due to discrimination from mainstream/majority groups or due to forced assimilation or integration into mainstream society (Howe, Heim & O'Conner, 2013; Phinney et al., 2001; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009). Through positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1999), identity can act as a buffer.

Paradigms in Identity Measurement

In psychology, there are two differing yet complementary paradigmatic views for studying cultures. These paradigms are known as the culture-specific, emic, cultural approach and the universality, etic, cross-cultural approach (Church, 2009; Human, 1996; Van de Vijver & Leung, 2001; Zimbardo, 2004). The first approach (culture-specific) views cultures as unique

and often argues against a basis for communalities. This approach provides insight into cultural specificity as well as cognitive organization of aspects related to identity. On the other hand, the second approach (universality) focuses primarily on understanding the commonalities between cultures and on then recognizing real differences that may exist between them. The second approach allows for a more systematic assessment of identity based on established theoretical models in the cross-cultural assessment of identity dimensions. Van de Vijver and Leung (1997), in their methodological consideration of the study of (cross-) cultural psychology, distinguish these two paradigms in terms of qualitative and quantitative methodologies respectively. They argue that an approach in (cross-) cultural psychology that separates these methodologies would be very restrictive in research and that researchers could successfully use both methodological approaches across paradigms depending on the specific research question.

As one of the specific objectives of this thesis was to understand identity in a non-Western context, both approaches were considered in the study of identity. There is a need for a more integrative multimethod approach for studying identity (Del Prado et al., 2007), as this advancement in the study of identity may allow for a more comprehensive, integrated, and holistic view of 'who or what a person is' as well as truly understanding which aspects of their identity are important to these individuals. The use of combined approaches allowed us to make substantive conclusions about identity, which could not have been made if only a single approach was considered. In this manner access was gained to both Western and non-Western conceptions of identity and to their relevance in and across both contexts.

Identity and Personality

An important consideration in the study of identity is its association with personality. Personality encompasses the thoughts, emotions and behaviors that characterize individual (Triandis, 2001), whilst identity is the process of defining the self in the collectivity in which the self exists (Josselson, 2012). The trait perspective captured by the Five Factor Model that measures global personality structure (McCrae & Costa, 2003; Meiring, 2007) currently dominates personality psychology. It is a first step towards understanding the individual. Personality impacts on how the individual defines a coherent sense of self (Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006; Triandis, 2001), by providing individuals with the psychological tools that allow them to navigate and negotiate personal goals, social demands, and cultural

expectations. In the development of their identity, individuals become aware of themselves, their traits and dispositions, how they relate to others, and their space within the context.

The study of identity considers the role of traitedness (Church, 2009) and contextual specification (De Raad, Sullot, & Barelds, 2008; McAdams, 1995; McAdams & Pals, 2006) and their association with identity. This is particularly important in collectivistic cultures where behavior is often considered to be more contextualized (see Church et al., 2006). Although there are both theoretical arguments (McAdams, 1995; McAdams & Pals, 2006; McCrae & Costa, 2003; Stryker, 2007) and empirical evidence (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993; Lounsbury, Levy, Leong, & Gibson, 2007) for the association between identity and personality traits, they are seldom studied together (Lounsbury et al., 2007). This practice creates superficial boundaries between the two concepts and the links between them are often not clear. The broad objective of personality psychology, to understand and predict individual behavior, is quite similar to that of identity psychology (McAdams, 1995; McCrae & Costa, 2003). As personality also contributes towards psychosocial functioning (Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006), this mutual end goal may be important for understanding how these two perspectives are related.

Identity in Context

As mentioned previously, context is important for identity. From a Western perspective, identity involves internal processes, whereby individuals search for meaning about themselves from within themselves. This is one of the reasons why personal identity is relatively more important or salient (Stryker & Serpe, 1994) for individuals in Western affluent contexts (as opposed to non-Western or non-affluent contexts), as these individuals are considered more individualistic than their non-Western and non-affluent counterparts (Phinney, 2000; Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Whitebourne, 2010; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010). These (individualistic) individuals focus on the autonomous self and individual agency become central to identity. They place more value on making independent choices about the self. Here, social dimensions of identity are important because personal identity is negotiated within the social context; however, the individual still makes decisions about the degree to which social aspects influence or are integrated in the self-definition.

From a non-Western perspective, context plays a more important role in how individuals define themselves. Within these contexts, identity is considered a more external process, whereby individuals look towards their social groups for meaning about themselves.

Social identity is therefore traditionally studied in immigrant, less affluent groups generally from non-Western backgrounds (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Phinney, 2000; Verkuyten, 2005). However, more recent research (see Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Abubakar, Van de Vijver, Mazrui, Arasa, & Murugami, 2012; Johnson et al., 2011; Worrell et al., 2006), has focused on mainstream groups in non-Western contexts that have more collectivistic value structures. Individuals from collectivistic groups appear to focus on the dependent self, fitting in and continuing established traditions. Group norms and values guide social practices and are important for defining the self.

Contexts Where Identity was Studied

Identity is studied mainly in Western, affluent contexts where there are clear dominant – non-dominant and mainstream – immigrant groups. This thesis aims to extend the study of identity to non-Western contexts where there may be different group dynamics. These are often plural societies with no clear dominant group, or very few immigrant groups. They are also less affluent and less economically developed or emerging economies, where individuals often have limited access to resources. These contexts are characterized by high unemployment and the standard of living is generally lower than in the developed Western world. These contextual aspects are often the driving force behind maintaining good in-group relations and ties, as individuals depend on in-group (ethnic or religious group) members for survival. These groups also act as safety nets when needed. Individuals often maintain strong links with traditional norms and values because they believe that the group will ensure their survival. Although individuals from these contexts make up the majority of the world's population, very little is known about identity and its outcomes in such contexts.

Chapters 2, 3, and 7 contain multicountry studies where identity in Western and non-Western contexts is examined. The chapters focus specifically on sub-Saharan African countries such as Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, and Zambia; Asian countries such as India and Indonesia; and the South American country of Chile. These studies investigated either social (ethnic) identity or a combination of personal and social (ethnic and religious) identities in non-Western contexts in relation to Western contexts such as the United States of America, Spain, and the Netherlands.

South Africa: The primary context for investigating identity. South Africa is the primary context investigated in this thesis and each chapter contains a South African sample. South African samples are also the core sample in three of the six empirical chapters (Chapters

4, 5, and 6). South Africa is a multicultural country occupying the southernmost part of Africa. It contains a diverse landscape as well as diverse people and therefore provides a psychological 'gold mine' of possibilities for understanding (cross-) cultural differences and similarities. The country is marred by a complicated history largely based on the advancement of White nationalism over Black traditionalism (Sonn, 1996), known as *apartheid*. After the abolishment of *apartheid* in the early 1990s, the transitional South African government (originally led by Nelson Mandela) has clearly attempted to promote cultural diversity and inclusiveness. This is evident in the adoption of the term 'Rainbow Nation' in reference to the South Africa nation, a term coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It symbolizes a nation dedicated to promoting an inclusive national identity based on diversity (S. A. Norris et al., 2008). The national motto, '*!ke e: /xarra //ke*', a Khoisan expression that means 'diverse people unite' ('unity in diversity') expresses a similar sentiment. However, nearly 20 years after the demise of *apartheid* this ideal multicultural and integrated society remains a distant hope. South Africa remains plagued by social, political, and economic segregation, and group membership is still largely defined in terms of ethnocultural membership (Finchilescu, Tredoux, Mynhardt, Pillay, & Muianga, 2006).

With a population of 51,770,560 South Africa has four main ethnocultural groups (Black, Coloured, Indian, and White), speaking eleven official languages that can be grouped into several categories depending on their origin; Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga-Venda and West-Germanic (Bester, 2008; Kruger, 2006; Swanepoel, 2006), and practicing multiple religions (Statistics South Africa [StatsSA], 2012). The Black group makes up the largest portion of the population (79.2% of the total population). Within this group, there is a further ethnolinguistic split between nine languages from the Nguni, Sotho, and Tsonga-Venda language groups (Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu). The Coloured (mixed racial group, 8.9%) is descended from a mixture of different ethnocultural groups in South Africa. They speak two West-Germanic languages, Afrikaans and English. The Indian group (2.5%) speaks mainly English. This group is descended from indentured workers and immigrants from the Indian subcontinent who came to South Africa during the era of British rule (1843 – 1961) in search of a better life. The White group (8.9%) also speaks mainly Afrikaans and English. They are descended from Europeans who first colonized and then immigrated to South Africa (StatsSA, 2012). South Africa currently has the largest population

of Indian and White persons on the African continent (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2011), making it a truly multicultural African country.

In South Africa, both Western individualistic and non-Western collectivistic cultures have developed under quite different circumstances (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Jackson, 1998). Although different identities have developed within different ethnocultural boundaries, South Africa strives to promote and develop a context of co-existence, where both Western individualistic and non-Western collectivistic (and traditional) value structures (Eaton & Louw, 2000) may thrive. Culture plays an important role in individuals' self-definition and any investigation of identity therefore needs to take cognizance of the important role context plays, as it impacts not only on the social, cultural, and norm constraints placed on the individual (Stryker, 2007), but also on intra-psychic processes of the individual's personal self-definition

Conceptual Model of Identity

In Figure 1.1 an integrated model of interrelated identity dimensions (Deaux, 1993; Rodriguez et al., 2010) positively associated with psychosocial outcomes (Phinney, 2000; S. J. Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, & Rodriguez, 2009) is presented. Aspects related to identity that were not directly considered in this thesis are presented in faded gray. The first of these aspects is relational identity, an integral identity dimension that was not directly addressed in this thesis. The second aspect relates to personality traits, which provide insight into individual functioning (McAdams, 1995) and we would argue serve as predictors of identity. Personality factors are also associated with psychosocial outcomes and the conceptual model does include these factors. However, this thesis did not assess the association between personality and psychosocial outcomes. The model also accounts for the importance and use of the emic and etic approaches in the measurement of identity (and personality; Nel et al., 2012) as well as the importance of context as a contributing factor towards identity and its outcomes.

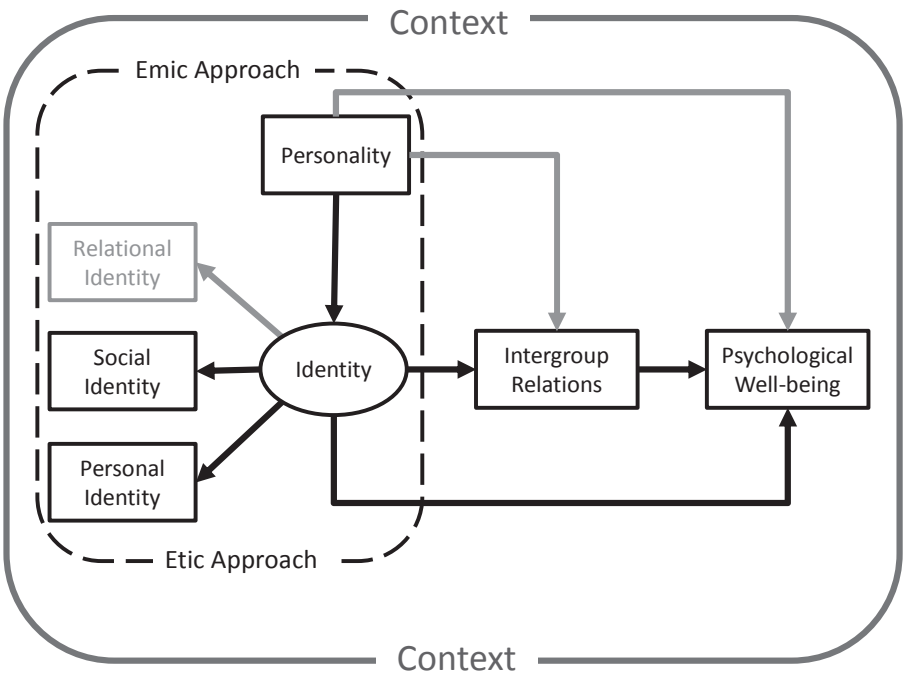

Figure 1.1 *Integrated Model of Measurement and Dimensionality of Identity and its association with Psychosocial Functioning*

Note. Faded constructs and arrows indicate associations not assessed in this thesis

Thesis Outline

This thesis contains six empirical chapters (Chapters 2 to 7) presented in three sections named after the "Jason Bourne Trilogy": Bourne Identity, Bourne Ultimatum, and Bourne Supremacy[2]. The old English word 'bourne' refers to a goal or destination, and it was the goal of this thesis to make sense of the complexity and diversity that often enshrouds identity. Each section contains research questions that relate to this objective. These are presented in the empirical chapters that address hypotheses related to these questions, and are related to the conceptual model.

The first section heading, Bourne Identity, relates to the similarities and differences of identity and its outcomes across countries/groups. Chapter 2 investigates ethnic identity

[2] The Jason Bourne Trilogy is a series of books 1980 - 1990 (made into movies between 2002 -2007) by Robert Ludlum, about a man who tries to find himself after he loses his memory

across the mainstream group of a prototypical Western society (the United States of America) and several multi-ethnic sub-Saharan African countries (Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, and Zambia). The chapter also investigates the relationship between identity and psychological well-being. In the proposed conceptual model (Figure 1.1), this is equivalent to including a 'direct' link from the social dimension of identity (or ethnic identity) to psychological well-being. Although this link is not actually present in model, it is assumed with the absence of a latent identity factor. The aim of the study was to examine ethnic identity and its widely acknowledged relationship with psychological well-being in a sub-Saharan African context (Research Question 1).

Through the addition of personal and religious identity in Chapter 3, the study investigated the extent to which identity theory developed in the West would generalize to a variety of non-Western contexts (Chile, India, Indonesia, Kenya, and South Africa) in comparison with a Western European context such as Spain. Personal and social identity dimensions indicated a latent identity factor, which is predictive of psychological well-being. Context was accounted for by considering the variables of individual level age, gender, socioeconomic background, religious fractionalization of the sample, national Gross National Income (correcting for Purchasing Power Parity) as an indicator of affluence, and Country level diversity. In this study, we wanted to compare personal and social dimensions of identity across countries (Research Question 2). Here too, we investigated whether the underlying structures of the association between identity and psychological well-being are similar across groups/countries/cultures (Research Question 3).

The second section, entitled the Bourne Ultimatum, focuses on an alternative measure of identity across ethnocultural groups, with a specific focus on South Africa. Chapter 4 contains an examination of the structure of identity in free self-descriptions, while Chapter 5 examines identity implied in other-descriptions across Black, Coloured, Indian, and White ethnocultural groups in South Africa. The studies reported in both Chapters 4 and 5 made use of the emic approach to inform the measurement of identity dimensions using an adapted version of the qualitative measure known as the Twenty Statements Test (TST; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). In the conceptual model (Figure 1.1), these studies are represented by the emic boundary that surrounds identity. The following research questions were related to this section: How do individuals across different ethnocultural groups in South Africa describe themselves and others, hence their identities (Research Question 4)? Is it possible to identify

constituent dimensions of identity from self- and other-descriptions (Research Question 5)? Which current theoretical frameworks provide insight into self- and other-descriptions in the South African context (Research Question 6)?

The title of the third section, Bourne Supremacy, is mainly symbolic as the intention is not to claim that this is the absolute study of identity. In this section, the study of identity moves beyond the basic identity well-being association examined earlier. Chapter 6 details an investigation of the relationship between identity, group orientation (as a proxy for intergroup relations) and psychological well-being in Black and White South African youth. In the model, intergroup relations partially mediate the relationship between identity and psychological well-being. The aim of this study was to examine how identity and group orientations are associated with each other and with psychological well-being (Research Question 7).

Chapter 7, the final empirical chapter, presents an investigation of how individuals negotiate their identity though intrapersonal and interpersonal considerations in South Africa and the Netherlands. This is a multimethod study where individuals were asked to describe themselves (self-descriptions) and respond to several self-report measures relating to sources of identification and personal and social identity. In addition, in order to make sense of how relationships may be important for their identities, we asked the participants to describe their relationships with several others. We once again return to the emic boundary that surrounds identity in the conceptual model, and this time, add the etic perspective. The following research questions were relevant for this section: Does relational orientation in open-ended self-descriptions converge with the self-report measure of sources of identification (Research Question 8)? How important are interpersonal relationships for one's identity (Research Question 9)? What is the association between sources of identification and personal and social dimensions of identity (Research Question 10)?

The final chapter (Chapter 8) presents a general discussion where the findings of the empirical studies are summarized and implications and recommendations for future research are discussed.

Section I

BOURNE IDENTITY

Chapter 2

Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-being: The West Meets Africa

Byron G. Adams, Amina Abubakar, Fons J. R. Van de Vijver, Gideon P. De Bruin, Josephine Arasa, Emmanuel Fomba, Omri Gillath, Given Hapunda, Joseph Looh La, Lubna Mazrui, Margaret Murugami

Submitted

Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-being: The West Meets Africa*

Ethnicity is important for how individuals define themselves (Phinney, 1992). The emergence of ethnic identity, as an aspect of identity, is a crucial developmental task for adolescents and emerging adults, especially in plural societies. Empirical and theoretical studies have focused primarily on understanding ethnic identity in Western contexts where ethnic groups are distinguished by their dominant – non-dominant, minority – majority, or immigrant – mainstream status (T. B. Smith, & Silva, 2011; Verkuyten 2005). There is a lack of research focusing on ethnic identity in sub-Saharan Africa (Abubakar et al., 2012), an area characterized by multi-ethnic contexts, collectivistic cultures, and individual identity definitions based on ethnolinguistic and tribal affiliations. As context is important for identity and identity development (Phinney et al., 2001; Worrell et al., 2006), we argue that the multi-ethnic sub-Saharan countries provide interesting contexts for studying ethnic identity. This study examines ethnic identity, and its widely acknowledged relationship with psychological well-being across several sub-Saharan African countries (Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, and Zambia) and draws comparisons with a prototypical Western society, the United States of America (US).

The next section defines identity and ethnic identity and discusses developmental and social psychological perspectives relevant to understanding these constructs and their relationship to psychological well-being. This is followed by a discussion concerning identity across cultures and a brief description of the groups and contexts included in the present study.

Identity and Ethnic Identity

Identity is the process by which individuals define themselves in relation to others and social groups within a particular context (Munday, 2006). Erikson (1950, 1968) considered identity formation a crucial developmental task during adolescence. Based on this conceptualization identity formation is seen as a stage in the general psychosocial developmental process. During this stage individuals are faced with an identity crisis that results in the development of a self-concept through the process of exploring relevant identity

*This chapter is based on: Adams, B. G., Abubakar, A., Van de Vijver, A. J. R., De Bruin, G. P., Asara, J., Fomba, E., Gillath, O., Hapunda., G., Looh La, J., Mazrui, L., & Murugami., M. (2013). Ethnic identity in emerging adults in sub-Saharan Africa and the US, and its associations with psychological well-being. Manuscript submitted for review.

options (identity search) before establishing a strong sense of self, and developing a good understanding of who they are (identity commitment). Marcia (1966) extended Erikson's conceptualization, presenting identity search and commitment as two dimensions in his Identity Status Model. The model provides identity statuses through which individuals move with the goal of defining a clear, flexible, and robust sense of self (referred to as identity achievement and characterized by 'high' identity search and 'high' identity commitment). According to Marcia (1980), the identity crisis should be resolved between the ages of 18 and 22 years old (Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999). However, recent evidence suggests that individuals still address identity issues throughout the emerging adulthood years (18-25 years of age; Arnett, 2000; Crocetti et al., 2013; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2005), and that identity is continuously renegotiated (Crocetti, Scrignaro, Sica, & Margin, 2012).

As a dynamic dimension of identity, ethnic identity refers to an individual's sense of belonging to a specific, self-identified ethnic group (Phinney, 1992; Phinney et al., 2001). Within the social psychological perspectives, notably SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and SCT (Turner 1999), ethnic identity is a social aspect of self that is developed in relation to in-group membership. Developmental perspectives (Erikson, 1950, 1968; Marcia, 1960) have addressed two components in relation to ethnic identity, namely ethnic identity exploration (identity search) and ethnic identity belonging (identity commitment; Roberts et al., 1999; Phinney et al., 2001). Ethnic identity exploration is the phase in which individuals search for where they belong, and aim to develop knowledge, beliefs, and expectations (Yeh & Hwang, 2000) about their own and other ethnic groups. Ethnic identity belonging is the phase where individuals express feelings of commitment, shared values and positive attitudes toward their ethnic group, culminating in a sense of belonging to that group. Ethnic identity is 'achieved' and becomes salient or relatively important when individuals experience a 'high' sense of ethnic belonging after having been (or while still being) engaged in exploring their own sense of ethnic group membership.

Ethnic identity and psychological well-being. Developmental and social psychological theories point to the importance of ethnic identity for psychological and social adjustment (Marcia, 1980; Roberts et al., 1999). The components of ethnic identity (exploration and belonging) are predictors of psychological well-being (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Roberts et al., 1999). Empirical evidence shows that salience of ethnic identity serves as a predictor of optimal human functioning and social development, as it is positively associated

with self-esteem and life satisfaction (Abubakar et al., 2012; Møllersen & Holte, 2008; Phinney, 1992; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). This relationship is especially important in plural societies (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2009), such as societies where non-Western groups may feel threatened in Western contexts (Phinney et al., 2001; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). In these contexts, ethnic identity acts as a buffer when individuals draw on their group membership to distinguish themselves positively in relation to other groups (positive distinctiveness; Turner, 1999). According to the Rejection-Identification Model (RIM; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), the negative effects of rejection by out-group members will be buffered when individuals identify more strongly with their own in-group. This relationship has only recently been studied in the sub-Saharan African context (e.g., Abubakar et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2011).

Identity across Groups

There has been increased interest in understanding identity processes across cultures on a much larger scale than before (Becker et al., 2012; Owe et al., 2012). These studies of identity often use Hofstede's (2001) individualism-collectivism cultural value orientations (P. B. Smith, 2011). According to Hofstede's (2001) model, individuals from individualistic contexts are independent and emphasize personal values, beliefs, and goals. In contrast, individuals from collectivistic contexts are interdependent. This means that they value group membership as a source of pride and subscribe to norms and values of the collective. Emerging adults from individualistic contexts place less value on group membership when compared to their counterparts from collectivistic contexts (Phinney, 2000). Individuals in sub-Saharan Africa are generally considered collectivistic, while North Americans and Western Europeans are generally considered individualistic.

Ethnicity and ethnic identity in the United States and sub-Saharan Africa. In the US, ethnicity is often equated with racial group membership; the dominant European/White American population report little discrimination or threat to their ethnic group. This group is relatively secure in their ethnic identity (Doane, 1997). Emerging adults from dominant groups face little ethnic threat and may experience relatively low levels of identification with their ethnic group. They experience less need for ethnic identity exploration compared to other (minority) groups in the same context (Johnson et al., 2011; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2009).

The dominant – non-dominant distinction, which is associated with the mainstream – immigrant distinction in Western societies like the US, is considerably less applicable in sub-

Saharan Africa. Most sub-Saharan African countries are multi-ethnic and consist mainly of groups of individuals of African descent, with each of these groups having their own language and culture. Ethnicity is strongly associated with tribal and linguistic affiliation. Emerging adults in sub-Saharan Africa encounter individuals from different ethnic groups on a daily basis, and ethnic identity is often formed during these multi-ethnic interactions (Phinney et al., 2001; Verkuyten, 2005).

This study considers very distinct yet similar sub-Saharan countries, namely Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, and Zambia. Cameroon, Kenya, and Zambia are discussed first as they share some similarities. These three countries have longer histories of nation building, based on national unity within plural societies, than South Africa. However, they are similar to South Africa in that they have previously faced ethnic strife. This strife has primarily been driven by the demand for and lack of resources, as well as political and economic gain (H. Adams, 1995; Humphreys, Posner, & Weinstein, 2002; Johnson et al., 2011; Mattes, 2004).

Cameroon is one of the most ethnically heterogeneous countries in Africa. There are approximately 250 (estimated range of between 230 and 280) different ethnic groups in the country. The Western Highlanders, comprising several different ethnic groups, constitute the largest group in the populations (estimated at about 31%), followed by the Equatorial Bantu groups (19%). Cameroon currently enjoys a high level of political and social stability, but was previously plagued by inter-ethnic violence that resulted in deaths (Tetchiada, 2006).

Kenya has approximately 42 different ethnic groups, speaking 69 different languages. The largest ethnic group is the Kikuya (22% of the population), followed by the Luhya (14%), and the Luo (13%). With its diverse population, Kenya has experienced massive inter-ethnic tension since independence, as these larger ethnic groups vie for political dominance. This culminated in the 2007-2008 Kenyan crisis, which was the result of perceived electoral manipulation. An estimated 1500 people died due to violence during this time (CIA, 2013).

Zambia consists of an estimated 72 different ethnic groups. Two of these groups, the Bemba and the Tonga, account for approximately 10% of the population. Zambia has fairly stable inter-ethnic relations, possibly due to ethnic groups being somewhat smaller (the largest being 10% of the population) than in other countries. The country experienced major conflict in the 1990s due to economic decline resulting from the fall in international copper prices (CIA, 2013).

The history of South Africa is atypical for the continent. It currently has the largest population of Europeans in sub-Saharan Africa (CIA, 2013). There is no clear dominant group within South Africa as different groups dominate the political, social, and economic domains. There are thirteen officially recognized groups, usually classified under four ethnocultural groups: Black[3], Coloured, Indian, and White (Glaser, 2010). These groups are still highly segregated due to the historical complexity brought on by institutionalized segregation (*apartheid*). This study focuses on two groups: The Black group (79.2% of the total population), who are politically dominant but less affluent and who are considered to be collectivistic; and the White group (8.9%; StatsSA, 2012), who are economically dominant but a numerical minority and who are traditionally seen as individualistic (Eaton & Louw, 2000). Each group has a specific identity, which develops in accordance with a strong sense of ethnocultural group membership (Williams et al., 2008).

The Present Study

The Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) is a well-researched measure of ethnic identity (T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011) and has previously been used to determine the association between ethnic identity and other variables. To our knowledge, only three studies have previously documented ethnic identity using the MEIM in sub-Saharan Africa. Abubakar et al. (2012) considered the relationship between ethnic identity, acculturation orientations, and psychological well-being in the Kenyan context, with an emphasis on adolescents of immigrant backgrounds. They found that both cultural orientation to the culture of origin and ethnic identity were important for psychological well-being in immigrant adolescents. A study by Johnson et al. (2011) drew comparisons across Uganda, Tanzania, and the US and found that ethnic identity and self-efficacy are important for promoting peaceful and sustainable societies. However, the authors pointed to the need for a better understanding of how ethnic identity functions across cultures. Finally, Worrell et al. (2006) focused on the validation of the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) in Zimbabwe, promoting an improved measure, and further conceptualization of ethnic identity in non-Western contexts. This study adds to the current literature by investigating the association between

[3] Although the designation 'Black' is sometimes used in South Africa to refer to all historically disadvantaged or 'non-White' groups (African, Coloured or mixed race, and Indian) within this thesis the term is used specifically to refer only to individuals of African descent.

ethnic identity and psychological well-being in different sub-Saharan African contexts in comparison with US mainstreamers.

The present study used the MEIM to test two hypotheses concerning ethnic identity across sub-Saharan African countries (Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, and Zambia) in comparison with the mainstream group in the US, the Western context in which the MEIM was originally developed. The primary focus is on ethnic identity in emerging adults. This selection is based on the assumption that most emerging adults have worked through their ethnic identity search during adolescence and have already committed or established their belonging to their respective ethnic groups. This expectation stems from Marcia's (1980) original developmental trajectory, which postulates that exploration is complete by the age of 22 years.

In this study, we speculate that individualism-collectivism value orientations (Hofstede, 2001) may inform identity development (Phinney, 2000). In the US, individuals from the mainstream group are generally considered individualistic with emerging adults emphasizing personal values, beliefs, and goals. In sub-Saharan Africa, individuals are generally considered collectivistic, emerging adults are faced with extensive multi-ethnic contexts, and they emphasize group membership, goals, norms, and values that promote membership. With the exception of White South Africans, who are considered individualistic (Eaton & Louw, 2000), we expect that ethnic identity is more salient for Black sub-Saharan African groups (Cameroonians, Kenyans, Zambians, Black South Africans), than for US mainstreamers and White South Africans (Hypothesis 1).

Also, this study investigates the association between ethnic identity and psychological well-being. Developmental and social psychological perspectives postulate the importance of ethnic identity for psychological well-being (Marcia, 1980; Roberts et al., 1999). The study therefore tests a model in which ethnic identity is positively associated with psychological well-being (Hypothesis 2).

Method

Participants and Procedure

Data were collected from 1,255 (61.8% females, M_{age} = 20.94 years, *SD* = 2.97) university students as part of a larger study on well-being. In Cameroon 505 students from the West and South West Regions participated. In Kenya 175 students from the Greater

Nairobi region participated. In South Africa 340 (238 Black and 103 White) students from the Gauteng province participated. In Zambia 103 students from the Lusaka province participated. Finally, 131 self-identified Caucasian (European/White) Americans from Lawrence, Kansas in the US participated. Participants' parents were relatively well educated, indicating that the participants were from moderate socioeconomic backgrounds. With the exception of one private university in Kenya, the students were all enrolled at public universities. Participants responded to a self-report paper and pencil questionnaire concerning ethnic identity and psychological well-being. The measures were administered in English. American Psychological Association (APA) ethical guidelines were adhered to during data collection and all participants were made aware of their rights prior to their participation. Sample statistics are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 *Sample Descriptive Statistics*

	Cameroon	Kenya	Black SA	White SA	Zambia	US
Mean Age	22.82	20.63	19.41	19.36	19.98	18.89
(*SD*)	(3.27)	(1.81)	(1.69)	(1.30)	(2.71)	(1.41).
Gender (Female %)	61.6	68.0	66.4	53.4	62.1	53.0
Parental Education(%)						
No education (< 1)	2.18	0.57	1.26	-	0.97	-
1 – 7 yrs.	13.07	4.57	2.10	-	3.88	-
8 – 12 yrs.	56.24	35.43	31.51	18.45	31.07	12.98
13 or more years (≥ 13)	27.92	59.43	58.82	78.64	59.22	87.02

Note. Parental education presented here as range in years of mean parental education, SA = South Africans

Measures

Sociodemographic information. Participants provided information about their age, gender, and parental education[4] (socioeconomic status [SES]). Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) testing group differences in age [$F(5, 1217) = 101.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .29$] indicated a significant difference, with Cameroonians being the oldest. Chi-square analysis for gender [$\chi^2(5, N = 1226) = 16.28$, $p = .006$] indicated that there were also more females in the Cameroonian sample. There were no significant differences in SES across groups, possibly due to the large

[4] Parental education is used as a proxy for SES included as a covariate. It is ascertained from the centered within-country means of both parents' years of education.

majority of participants being from moderately affluent socioeconomic backgrounds (Table 2.1).

Ethnic Identity. The MEIM (Phinney, 1992) has 12 items, rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly agree*). The measure has two subscales: ethnic identity exploration with 5 items (e.g., "In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group"), and ethnic identity belonging with 7 items (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group").

Table 2.2 *Measurement Invariance for Ethnic Identity*

Models	χ^2/df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	AIC	BCC
Full Configural Invariance	2.41^{***}	.89	.92	.03	1200.05	1247.66
Full Metric Invariance	2.23^{***}	.90	.92	.03	1160.21	1198.14
Full Scalar Invariance	2.56^{***}	.88	.87	.03	1307.91	1334.23
Partial Scalar Invariance	2.25^{***}	.90	.91	.03	1175.17	1206.33

Note. When comparing models, the Partial Scalar Invariance Model needs to be compared with the Full Metric Invariant Model. TLI = Tucker–Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation; AIC = Akaike Information Criterion; BCC = Browne-Cudeck Criterion.

$^{***}p < .001$.

MEIM psychometric properties. We used multigroup Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) to establish scalar invariance, which would allow for the comparison of means. Two latent factors, ethnic identity exploration and ethnic identity belonging, were correlated. In the original model, which assessed full configural, measurement, and scalar invariance, the difference in comparative fit indices (CFI) between the measurement invariant model and scalar invariance model was larger than .01, |ΔCFI| = .042 (Milfont & Fischer, 2010). This required the removal of five constraints between observed item means and latent factors in the model, which resulted in full configural and measurement invariance and partial scalar invariance, |ΔCFI| = .01 (Table 2.2). To ascertain if releasing constraints between items and the latent ethnic identity factor had any impact on the size of the cross-cultural differences, we compared the size and patterning of means[5] across groups before and after omitting

[5] From scalar invariance model in the multigroup CFA, we identified the best fitting items in the ethnic identity measure. We computed means using these items (Best Item Means) and all items (Full Scale Means). In a MANOVA, we included Best Item Means and Full Scale Means. If the patterning of groups did not change substantially or the difference in partial eta square was not very large, we assumed full scalar invariance, and

constraints from the 'biased' items. Violations did not have a major impact on the observed differences. Therefore, we assumed full scalar invariance of the measure (see Meiring, Van de Vijver, & Rothmann, 2006, for a similar approach).

Life Satisfaction. The Brief Multidimensional Student Life Satisfaction Scale (BMSLSS; Huebner, Seligson, Valois, & Suldo, 2006) is a six-item measure designed to measure life satisfaction. It is rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Terrible*) to 7 (*Delighted*). It measures life satisfaction in five different domains, while one item assesses general life satisfaction (e.g., "I would describe my satisfaction with myself as…").

Poor Mental Health. The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12; Goldberg, 1972) is a 12-item measure developed to screen for minor psychiatric disturbance while assessing the changes in affective and somatic symptoms related to general levels of mental health. Participants are asked to think about the last four weeks, and asked to rate how they feel in relation to items such as "Been able to concentrate on what you're doing" on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Better than usual*) to 4 (*Much less than usual*). Higher scores on the GHQ-12 are an indication of poorer mental health.

Life satisfaction and poor mental health measures are unidimensional and measurement invariance has previously been confirmed for population groups that are similar to the samples used in this study (Abubakar et al., 2013a, 2013b). Reliabilities for all measures are presented in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 *Measure Reliabilities as Indicated by Cronbach's Alpha*

	Cameroon	Kenya	Black SA	White SA	Zambia	US
Ethnic Identity (MEIM)	.84	.86	.87	.85	.83	.88
Psychological Well-being						
Life Satisfaction (BMSLSS)	.72	.78	.76	.78	.70	.88
Mental Health (GHQ-12)	.74	.86	.85	.83	.74	.84

Note. Internal consistencies were good (Cronbach's $\alpha > .80$) and adequate (Cronbach's $\alpha > .70$). SA = South Africans.

used the Full Scale Means for comparison. For Ethnic Identity Best Item Means $\eta_p^2 = .02$ and Ethnic Identity Full Scale Means $\eta_p^2 = .03$ (These analyses were also used in Chapters 3 and 7).

Results

Group Differences for Ethnic Identity

We expected ethnic identity (combined exploration and belonging) to be more salient in Cameroonians, Kenyans, Zambians and Black South Africa than in US mainstreamers and White South Africans (Hypothesis 1). We conducted a one-way between-group ANOVA with group as the independent variable and the total mean score for Ethnic Identity as the dependent variable. Age, gender, and SES were excluded as preliminary analysis indicated they had no significant effect on Ethnic Identity[6]. As can be viewed in Table 2.4, Ethnic Identity seemed more salient for emerging adults in the Black and White South Africans cultures and less salient for emerging adults in the mainstream US [$F(5, 1249) = 6.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$]. Amongst the other sub-Saharan countries, ethnic identity seemed more salient in Cameroon, followed by Kenya, and was least salient in Zambia. Hypothesis 1 was rejected, as the individualistic groups (White South Africans and US mainstreamers) did not seem to differ significantly from the other sub-Saharan Africans.

Table 2.4 *Ethnic Identity Means and Standard Deviations Across Groups*

				95% CI	
Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*	LB	UB
Cameroon	505	$2.79_{a,c,f,g,i}$	.53	2.74	2.84
Kenya	175	$2.71_{a,c,f,g,j}$	.60	2.63	2.79
Black South Africans	238	$2.87_{b,d,e,g,i}$	.57	2.81	2.94
White South Africans	103	$2.84_{a,c,e,g,i}$	.50	2.73	2.94
Zambia	103	$2.64_{b,c,f,h,j}$	.50	2.53	2.74
US Mainstreamers	131	$2.59_{b,c,f,h,j}$	.56	2.50	2.69

Note. CI = Confidence Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound. Means in column with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ as indicated by the post hoc test of Least Significant Difference (LSD).

***$p < .001$.

Association between Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-Being

We considered the correlations between ethnic identity, life satisfaction, poor mental health, and sociodemographic variables, to assess the underlying relationships between

[6] Preliminary analysis indicated age [$F(1, 1186) = 0.01$, $p = .826$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$], gender [$F(1, 1186) = 0.00$, $p = .975$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$], and SES [$F(1, 1186) = 0.71$, $p = .123$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$] had no significant effect on ethnic identity.

variables (Table 2.5). There were strong negative relationships between life satisfaction and poor mental health as measures of psychological well-being. Ethnic identity was positively associated with life satisfaction in all groups, and negatively related to poor mental health in Cameroon and the US. There were no consistent links across groups between sociodemographic variables and ethnic identity, life satisfaction, and poor mental health.

Table 2.5 *Correlations between Individual-Level Variables and Ethnic Identity Components and Psychological Well-Being by County/Cultural Group*

	1	2	Age	Gender	SES
Cameroon					
1. Ethnic Identity	-		.00	-.01	-.07
2. Life Satisfaction	.25***	-	-.05	.04	.05
3. Poor Mental Health	-.13**	-.26***	-.05	-.06	-.03
Kenya					
1. Ethnic Identity	-		.00	-.05	-.17**
2. Life Satisfaction	.32***	-	-.18*	-.10	-.09
3. Poor Mental Health	-.11	-.26**	.18*	.16*	-.11
Black South Africans					
1. Ethnic Identity	-		.02	.00	.02
2. Life Satisfaction	.35***	-	-.06	-.02	.28***
3. Poor Mental Health	-.11	-.37***	-.03	.05	-.17**
White South Africans					
1. Ethnic Identity	-		-.07	.06	.09
2. Life Satisfaction	.17	-	-.07	.06	-.05
3. Poor Mental Health	-.07	-.29**	-.10	.08	-.08
Zambia					
1. Ethnic Identity	-		-.02	.07	.01
2. Life Satisfaction	.39***	-	-.06	.02	.08
3. Poor Mental Health	-.08	-.45***	-.02	-.09	-.09
US Mainstreamers					
1. Ethnic Identity	-		.01	-.07	-.02
2. Life Satisfaction	.33***	-	-.20**	.02	.05
3. Poor Mental Health	-.19*	-.57***	.17*	.01	.01

Note. SES = Socioeconomic Status.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001 (2-tailed).

We then tested a multigroup structural equation model (SEM) using AMOS software in which we assessed the association between Ethnic Identity and psychological well-being (indicated by life satisfaction and poor mental health; Hypothesis 2). We tested six nested models in total. Each model was considered in relation to the previous model, with later models using the constraints of previous models and adding their own (see Table 2.6). The six

models were: (a) Unconstrained: the basic model structure in which the patterning of a path model is tested. (b) Measurement weights: factor loadings of life satisfaction and poor mental health on the latent psychological well-being factor are invariant across groups. (c) Structural weights: the path coefficient of ethnic identity as a predictor of the latent psychological well-being factor is invariant across groups, (d) Structural covariance: the unique variance of ethnic identity is invariant across groups, (e) Structural residuals: the error variance of the latent psychological well-being factor is invariant across groups. (f) Measurement residuals: the unique variances of life satisfaction and poor mental health are invariant across groups (Milfont & Fischer, 2010).

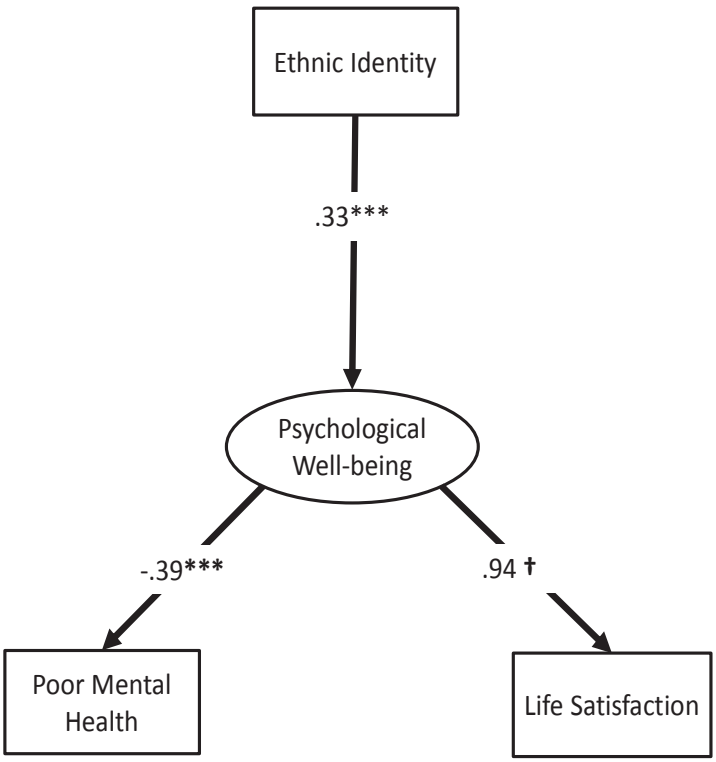

Figure 2.1 *The Relationship between Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-being*
Note. Average standardized regression coefficients presented
***$p < .001$. † Fixed at a value of 1 in unstandardized solution

The structural residuals model was the most parsimonious model with a very good fit, $\chi^2(20, N = 1{,}254) = 20.52$, $p = .426$, $\chi^2/df = 1.03$, with life satisfaction ($\beta = .94$, $p < .001$) and poor mental health ($\beta = -.39$, $p < .001$) as good indicators of a latent psychological well-being factor. Ethnic identity was a good predictor of psychological well-being ($\beta = .33$, $p < .001$). Hypothesis 2 was supported, as ethnic identity was positively associated with sychological well-being for all groups (Figure 2.1).

Table 2.6 *Fit Statistics for Multigroup Analysis*

Model	χ^2/df	AGFI	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
Unconstrained	-	-	-	1.00	.00	-	-
Measurement weights	0.28	1.00	1.05	1.00	.00	1.39	5
Structural weights	0.57	.99	1.03	1.00	.00	4.33	5
Structural covariance	0.91	.98	1.01	1.00	.00	7.97	5
Structural residuals	*1.03*	*.98*	*1.00*	*1.00*	*.01*	*6.84*	*5*
Measurement residuals	2.98^{***}	.95	.77	.78	.04	68.83^{***}	10

Note. There are too few observed variables and too many estimated parameters in an unconstrained model resulting $df = 0$, however this is resolved in the more restrictive models. AGFI = Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index; TLI = Tucker–Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation. Most restrictive model with a good fit is in italics.
*** $p < .001$.

Discussion

This study considered both developmental and social psychological perspectives in the study of ethnic identity in sub-Saharan Africa (in Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia), in comparison with the European/White American mainstreamers in the US. Our expectation that ethnic identity would be less salient in individualistic groups (US mainstreamers and White South Africans) and more salient in collectivistic groups (Cameroon, Kenya, Zambia, and Black South Africans) was not supported and therefore Hypothesis 1 was rejected. Ethnic identity was least salient for US mainstreamers and most salient in Black and White South Africans. We also investigated, and found support for, the widely documented positive relationship between ethnic identity and psychological well-being, confirming the association in all our samples (Hypothesis 2).

Ethnic Identity across Groups

The individualism-collectivism value orientation perspective (Hofstede, 2001), which is argued to inform identity and in particular ethnic identity (Phinney, 2000), had limited value in explaining the cross-cultural differences observed in this study. This was despite the fact that the ethnic groups included in this study were expected to show salient differences in ethnic identity based on this dimension. It is evident that other contextual aspects are more important for ethnic identity salience in our sample (Owe et al., 2012; Phinney et al 2001; Worrell et al., 2006). Firstly, in seems clear that in South Africa, which has a history of ethnocultural divide, ethnic group membership is very important for both Black and White South Africans. This may be due to the continued polarized nature of the contexts in which the Black group dominate the political sphere and the White group the economic sphere. These groups may seek to distinguish themselves more clearly from each other by enhancing their own affiliation and feelings towards the in-group (positive distinctiveness; Turner, 1999).

Secondly, as the ethnic group membership of European/White US mainstreamers is generally not threatened within their context, their ethnic identity is less salient (Johnson et al., 2011). They seem secure in their ethnic identities (Doane, 1997), and do not feel the need, unlike the White South Africans group, to emphasize their affiliation towards their in-group. This may be because they do not experience the prejudice and discrimination faced by White South Africans (Williams et al., 2008). The experience of ethnic identity by mainstream emerging adults in the US (an individualistic group) is much more in line with the Western theoretical conception of individualism-collectivism (Phinney, 2000) than the experience of the White South Africans group, who is also generally considered individualistic (Eaton & Louw, 2000)

Finally, the results for ethnic identity in Cameroon, Kenya, and Zambia may reflect the specific conditions of these contexts. Although ethnic identity was lower in these countries than in South Africa, it was still relatively high in comparison to US mainstreamers. Cameroonians have more salient ethnic identities than individuals from the other countries, possibly due to the extreme ethnic heterogeneity within Cameroon. The presence of many distinct ethnic groups that are geographically clustered (e.g., Western Highlanders; CIA 2013), may require groups to differentiate themselves more than groups in Kenya and Zambia (SCT; Turner, 1999).

In Kenya, where ethnic groups are somewhat larger, emerging adults may have clearer ethnic boundaries than Cameroonians, and ethnic identity may be more strongly associated with ethnolinguistic and tribal affiliations. This may also be true for all African ethnic groups. However, as the country very recently experienced ethnic conflicts, Kenyans may still feel a need to emphasize their distinct group membership. Ethnic identity salience is lowest for Zambians in the sub-Saharan African cohort, possibly because this country is politically and socially fairly stable.

It is clear that ethnic group membership is important in sub-Saharan Africa due to the multi-ethnic nature of these societies, and the lack of clear 'mainstream' or 'dominant' groups. These societies have all experienced a degree of ethnic strife due to groups either vying for political or economic power, or trying to alleviate the lack of resources. These ethnic conflicts may be one of the main catalysts for strong feelings of belonging to self-identified ethnic in-groups. This sense of belonging promotes and enhances ethnic affiliation when individuals experience threat towards their in-group. This is similar to what is found in Western contexts (Phinney et al., 2001; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011; Verkuyten, 2005), and also seems to be the case in South Africa. Thus, threatened groups (irrespective of whether they are dominant or non-dominant) often distinguish themselves clearly from out-groups as a means of preserving their interests (Verkuyten, 2008, 2011). Thus, the salience of ethnic identity seems to be fluid and moderated by contextual factors.

Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-Being

Ethnic identity seems to function in a similar manner across very distinct contexts. Although the construct is complex, its association with psychological well-being in emerging adulthood is simple; across very different historical and cultural contexts, ethnic identity is positively associated with psychological well-being (Abubakar et al., 2012; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). This is especially true in multicultural contexts where groups may experience a sense of threat to their identities. Here group membership provides them with a psychological buffer from possible rejection from out-group members (RIM; Branscombe et al., 1999), and it enhances their psychological well-being. In addition, even in contexts where emerging adults' ethnic group memberships and ethnic identities face minimal threat, ethnic identity serves to reinforce a sense of relatedness, commitment, and group membership (Phinney et al., 2001).

Implications

The relationships between ethnic identity and psychological well-being have important implications for emerging adults in sub-Saharan Africa. Similar to the mainstream US sample, ethnic identity is important for psychological well-being in all sub-Saharan countries. It is important to understand the psychological mechanisms that influence what Baumeister and Leary (1995) refer to as a "need to belong" (p. 497) to ethnic groups for emerging adults in the African context. The comparison of sub-Saharan African countries with the US provides a clear indication that the function of ethnic identity in multi-ethnic contexts does not differ much between countries. When dealing with sub-Saharan Africa, it is important to understand the meaning of ethnicity and ethnic group membership and to understand the role these variables play in the lives of emerging adults in this context.

In sub-Saharan Africa, ethnicity and tribalism are frequently cited as being a source of political conflict and inequality in the distribution of national resources (H. Adams, 1995; Humphreys et al., 2002; Johnson et al,, 2011; Mattes, 2004). Consequently, discussions concerning ethnic identification have been marred by negativity. However, our study indicates that ethnic identification serves an important psychological function by providing emerging adults with a sense of belonging and affiliation. This presents two challenges for practitioners and counselors. Firstly, they need to be aware of the importance of ethnic identity and the underlying processes associated with exploration and belonging in the many contexts where multiple ethnocultural groups co-exist. Secondly, they need to find ways to nurture this sense of belonging while at the same time highlighting the positive value of a sense of belonging to an ethnoculturally inclusive nation-state. This needs to be accomplished without the promotion of any single ethnic identity resulting in intergroup conflict.

Limitations and Recommendations

Several aspects should be considered in future research. Firstly, although information about specific ethnic identity was provided for each country, its use would have resulted in very small group sizes that would have been unsuitable for analysis. We would advise future studies to use more robust ethnicity measures, preferably measures that are specific to each sub-Saharan African country. This would help distinguish more clearly between ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic groups. Secondly, no contextual variables were considered in this analysis. An in-depth knowledge of aspects such as affluence, political climate, or intercultural relations may also be relevant for understanding the relationship between ethnic identity and

psychological well-being. In addition, more research is needed to investigate the meaning of psychological well-being in an African context. In countries riddled by conflict, poverty, and high rates of infectious diseases, it may be important to understand how individuals define their happiness, self-esteem, and life satisfaction, as these may very well be different from Western conceptions. Worrell et al. (2006) warn against the importation of Western identity measures into the African context without considering their psychological validity. We would advise the same with respect to well-being measures.

In addition, it might be important to take an in-depth look at the ethnocultural complexity in sub-Saharan Africa. The complex nature of political, social, and cultural dynamics (Ong'ayo, 2008) may require longitudinal and qualitative inquiry into ethnicity, ethnic identity, identity in general, and the role of context in psychosocial functioning. The cross-sectional design of this study, for example, does not allow us to assess the developmental process of ethnic identity when comparing emerging adults in sub-Saharan Africa with US mainstreamers. We need to ascertain the developmental role of ethnic identity exploration and belonging in the sub-Saharan African context and the implications for understanding of ethnic identity as a whole.

Conclusion

We could argue that in accordance with Marcia's (1980; see also Meeus et al., 1999) developmental argument, that the identity crisis (Erikson, 1968) is resolved between the ages of 18-22 years (the approximate age range in our sample). However, recent developmental perspectives argue that the identity crisis extends into emerging adulthood (Arnett; 2000; Crocetti et al., 2012, 2013; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2005). We may question the role of ethnic identity exploration for emerging adults in sub-Saharan Africa compared to minority groups in Western contexts (Brittan, 2012; Phinney et al., 2001; Verkuyten, 2005). In sub-Saharan Africa, emerging adults may encounter their own culture, including ethnocultural symbols and artifacts more often than immigrant and minority groups in Western contexts. Thus, groups provide their members with a strong sense of identity that is often not questioned, even in a multi-ethnic context, similar to multi-ethnic Australians (see Dandy, Durkin, McEvoy, Barber, & Houghton, 2008).

Similar to majority groups in Western contexts such as the US, ethnic identity across sub-Saharan Africa may in part be strongly related to belonging and commitment, fueled through positive interactional experiences with familiar others who provide some sense of

stability in the context. Ethnic group membership in sub-Saharan Africa seems to provide an enduring frame of reference on which individuals rely for behavioral, cognitive, and affective cues for social affiliation. This might also explain why ethnic identity is more salient in the South African groups, where institutionalized oppression has stimulated conditions that promote feelings of ethnic or racial group membership. Where groups in multicultural contexts have faced prolonged ethnic strain, or where they are faced with ethnic strife (even if only sporadic) within a particular context, a sense of ethnic identity belonging is heightened to ensure optimal psychological functioning in multi-ethnic societies. This is particularly the case for members of African groups who draw on their ethnic heritage to reinforce their sense of community membership.

Chapter 3

Identity and Psychological Well-being across Contexts

Byron G. Adams, Amina Abubakar, Fons J. R. Van de Vijver, Itziar Alonso-Arbiolo, Penny Handani, Weny Savitry Pandia, Shanmukh Kamble, Lubna Mazrui, Margaret Murugami, Rosario Spencer, Angela O. Suryani

Submitted

Identity and Psychological Well-being across Contexts*

Identity formation is as an important developmental task for adolescents (Erikson, 1950; 1968; Phinney, 2000), irrespective of context (Worrell et al., 2006). Given its salience in shaping current and future psychological functioning and adjustment, identity has received much attention in the last two decades. The term identity refers to the interplay between who the person was, is, and wants to be, in relation to others, the group, and their environment (Dovidio et al., 2005; Josselson, 2012). This study considers two identity dimensions, namely personal identity and social identity. Personal identity comprises intrapersonal characteristics, while social identity comprises group membership aspects important for the self-definition. The aim of this study is to examine: (a) how specific aspects, such as affluence, cultural diversity, and religious diversity, are associated with personal and social dimensions of identity; and (b) whether identity serves the same purpose for adolescents' psychological well-being across different contexts.

Identity Development

Our understanding of identity development is based primarily on the Eriksonian (1950, 1968) psychosocial developmental perspective. Identity formation is an important developmental milestone during which adolescents develop their self-concept through social interactions. The process of identity formation presents adolescents with questions about who and what they are. They then need to find answers to these questions. Adolescents face different and contradictory options that contribute to their self-definition, and the process of forming a coherent identity can be a serious challenge (Lopez et al., 2011). Erikson's basic argument is that adolescents encounter an identity crisis, which needs to be resolved. This resolution is achieved by reconciling all relevant identity issues through engaging in exploration and then committing to relevant identity choices (French et al., 2006). Thus, identity is a negotiated process where adolescents define themselves as individuals within the boundaries of their social context (Jenkins, 2008). In the development of their identities, adolescents seek to achieve optimal distinctiveness through finding a balance between the personal need to distinguish the self from others and the need to belong (Brewer, 1991).

* This chapter is based on: Adams, B. G., Abubakar, A., Van de Vijver, A. J. R., Alonso-Arbiolo, I., Handani, P., Savitry Pandia, W., Shunmukh, K., Mazrui, L., Murugami, M., Spencer, R., & Suryani, A. O. (2014). *A six-country study on identity and its functions in adolescent well-being.* Manuscript submitted for review

Resolving identity issues and developing a coherent sense of self contribute positively towards self-esteem and well-being (Meeus et al., 1999).

Identity in Context

In developed and affluent contexts, there is a strong emphasis on personal identity as the mainstream group emphasizes autonomy, personal needs, and personal goals. Personal development and individuality are important for developing a clear and consistent self-definition. Adolescents are required to develop a personal sense of self, directed at realizing individual goals, values, and beliefs (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010). Social aspects of identity are considered less salient (relatively less important; Stryker & Serpe, 1994) than in non-Western, less affluent contexts. In a study amongst minority groups in the US, Rodriguez et al. (2010) found a positive association between personal aspects of identity and being American. Students from minority backgrounds indicated that to become American, which implies a strong identification with what is currently considered the prototypical Western society, they may be required to cut ties with important social groups such as their ethnic communities and even their families. This reinforces the notion that in highly affluent contexts personal interests are elevated above group interests, and this personal sense of identity is considered important for adolescent well-being, as groups are valued less in these contexts (Abu-Rayya, 2006; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010).

In less developed and less affluent contexts, or in immigrant and minority groups, more emphasis is placed on collective integration, social cohesion, and inclusiveness. Group membership and a sense of belonging are viewed as important for identity, psychosocial functioning, and well-being (Phinney, 2000; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2009). This includes cultural, ethnic, and religious characteristics such as norms, values, attitudes, knowledge, and beliefs. These various characteristics guide decision-making and daily behavioral expression. Social dimensions of identity are often studied amongst minority groups in Western contexts. Such groups have stronger links with ethnic or religious groups when compared to their mainstream counterparts (Kuusisto, 2009; Rodriguez et al., 2010). Ethnicity and religion are often associated with each other; for example, Muslim immigrants in Western Europe draw on their ethnic and religious identities as resources for coping with acculturative stress (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009).

Religion has become a particularly important ethnic marker (Furrow, King, & White, 2004; Lopez et al., 2011; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). This may be partially due to the events of

September 11, 2001 and the increased social distance between Mainstream Christian and immigrant Muslim groups in Western Europe. However, although this 'tension' may be present, we argue that, in accordance with the secularization hypothesis, a country's economic development and level of affluence would be negatively associated with religious affiliation, practice and often membership (P. Norris & Inglehart, 2004). Thus, religious identity would be more salient for non-Western adolescents.

As the foundation from which groups from less affluent contexts negotiate their identities, social identity dimensions, such as ethnicity and religious, are positively associated with psychological and social adjustment in minority groups (Dimitrova, Bender, Chasiotis, & Van de Vijver, 2012; Phinney et al., 2001; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). However, recent evidence suggests that social identity dimensions are also important for mainstream groups in less affluent (non-Western) contexts (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Johnson et al., 2011; Worrell et al., 2006). In these contexts, social dimensions of identity are important due to cultural or religious diversity (e.g. sub-Saharan Africa), or the generally religious nature of the society (e.g. the Middle East).

The Present Study

Identity is conceptualized and mainly studied in Western, developed, and affluent contexts, such as North America and Western Europe, where there is an emphasis on minority-majority group differences (Phinney, 2001; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2009; Verkuyten, 2005). Only recently have scholars expanded the study of identity to non-Western contexts such as sub-Saharan Africa (Abubakar et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2011; Worrell et al., 2006; also see Chapter 2), Eastern Europe (Dimitrova et al., 2012), and the Middle East (Abu-Rayya, 2006a, 2006b; Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009). However, very few studies integrate personal and social dimensions of identity and examine their joint association with psychological well-being.

S. J. Schwartz et al. (2009; also see Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis) recognized the need for a more integrated view of identity. Although personal and social dimensions of identity are interrelated (Deaux, 1993) they are often studied independently. Personal and social identity dimensions are both considered important for psychological well-being, and we argue that an integrated approach provides a better understanding of this relationship. In an attempt to move away from the traditional contexts in which identity is studied, and expand the current literature on identity, this study includes samples from economically affluent

(Spain), economically poor (India and Kenya), monocultural (Chile), and highly multicultural (Indonesia and South Africa) countries. We tested hypotheses to assess the salience (or relative importance) of personal identity and social (ethnic and religious) identities in relation to affluence, cultural diversity, and religious diversity

Hypothesis 1: Personal identity is more salient for adolescents from more affluent contexts.

Hypothesis 2: Ethnic identity is more salient in adolescents from more culturally diverse contexts.

Hypothesis 3: Religious identity is more salient in adolescents from more religiously diverse and less affluent contexts.

Personal and social dimensions of identity are interrelated. Whilst in different societies different identity dimensions are argued to be salient, several studies have highlighted the fact that identity is structured in a similar manner and serves the same function across different groups in its association with psychological well-being (S. J. Schwartz, Adamson, Ferrer-Wreder, Dillon, & Berman, 2006; S. J. Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002; also see Chapter 6 in this thesis). Personal and social dimensions are positively associated with psychological well-being. Therefore, we expect that personal and social identity dimensions will serve the same function across countries in terms of psychological well-being.

Hypothesis 4: For all countries, personal and social identity dimensions as indicators of a latent identity factor are positively associated with psychological well-being indicated by life satisfaction and poor mental health.

Method

Participants

A total of 1432 (53.45% females: M_{age} = 15.56 years, *SD* = 1.59) adolescents from high schools completed measures of identity and psychological well-being. The sample consisted of 123 Chileans from the Talca Province, 267 Indians from the Karnataka State, 287

Indonesians from the Capital Region of Jakarta, 145 Kenyans from the Western Province, 65 South Africans from the Gauteng Province, and 545 Spanish from the Basque Country. Table 3.1 provides an overview of the demographic and background characteristics of the sample.

Country Descriptions and Data Collection Procedure

Data were collected as part of a larger project on adolescent well-being, consisting of several studies focusing on identity. In each country, relevant permissions for data collection were obtained. Participants were aware of their rights, which included the option of withdrawing at any time. In all cases, questionnaires were completed in group settings in Spanish (Chile), English (India, Kenya, and South Africa) Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesia), and Basque and/or Spanish (Spain). With the exceptions of Kenya and Spain, all students were from mixed moderate socioeconomic backgrounds. In Kenya, students were also from low socioeconomic backgrounds, and in Spain, students were also from affluent socioeconomic backgrounds. The section below provides a brief sketch of the countries in this study: Chile, India, Indonesia, Kenya, South Africa, and Spain.

Chile is an emerging economy in Latin America and is the regional leader in terms of income *per capita*. It is fairly homogenous in terms of ethnic, linguistic, and religious dimensions. The largest part of the population is White/White-Amerindian, speaks Spanish, and practices Catholicism. According to Gallup, religion is important in the daily lives of 70% of Chileans (Crabtree, 2010). In our sample that is the second lowest percentage of individuals who indicated importance of religion. In Chile, data from adolescents were collected at a high school (*liceo*) in the city of Talca, the capital of the Talca Province, which is classified as a rural region by the Chilean authorities. Talca has a population of 227,674 with 95.8% of the population living in urban areas and 4.2% living in rural areas (Chilean Census, 2012). Almost 99% of the population in the city consider themselves as 'non-indigenous' Chilean, with less than 1% being '*mapuche*', an indigenous group. The school where data were collected is monocultural (Chilean) and Catholic. The school is in a moderately affluent area.

India is the fourth largest economy and one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Poverty is one of its greatest challenges with nearly 30% of the population living below the poverty line. The largest ethnocultural group is the Indo-Aryan group and the main religion is Hinduism, although India has many religions. It is multilingual state with fourteen official languages, and is the third most religious country in this sample, with 90% of Indians indicating that religion plays a major role in their lives. In India, data were collected at two

high schools located in the Hubli-Dharwad district in the Karnataka State. The town has a population of 943,857, made up of Karnatakans, Gujarathis, and Rajathani ethnicities. The dominant religion in the district is Hinduism (68.0%), followed by Islam (26.0%), and Christianity (5.6%; Census India, 2011). The schools are multicultural, and are in moderately affluent areas.

Indonesia is the world's sixteenth largest economy and has a fast growing economy. It has an ethnically diverse population, with the Javanese being the largest and politically dominant ethnic group. Bahasa Indonesia is the official language and Islam the most practiced religion. It is the most religious country in this sample, with 99% of the inhabitants indicating that religion plays a large role in their lives. In Indonesia, data were collected at high schools in the Capital City Region of Jakarta. Jakarta contains a mixture of 300 ethnic groups present throughout the archipelago of Indonesia. It has a population of 9,607,787 (Statistics Indonesia, 2010). Ethnicity statistics in Jakarta have never been assessed. However, based on estimates from national statistics, the largest ethnocultural groups are the Javanese (41.7%), Sundanese (15.4%), Malaysian (3.5%), Maduranese (3.4%), and Bataknese (3.0%). The dominant religion is Islam (87.2%), followed by Christianity (9.9%). The schools that participated in this study are multicultural and are in both low and high affluence suburbs in the city.

Kenya has the largest economy in East Africa, but is plagued by high unemployment (40%). More than 50% of the population lives below the poverty line. English and Kiswahili are official languages. It is a multicultural, multilingual, and multireligious nation state with the majority of the population being of African descent. It is the second most religious country in this sample, with 94% of the population stating that religion plays an important role in their lives. Christianity is the dominant religion. In Kenya, data were collected at public boarding schools in a rural part of the Western Province of Kenya, the nearest town has a population of 38,960 (Kenyan Census, 2009). Although the Luhya are the dominant group in this region, smaller groups are also present in the region due to trade and agriculture. The schools where data were collected are multicultural and predominantly Christian, with a significant Islamic minority.

South Africa is an emerging economy and has the largest economy in Africa. Like many African countries, it faces a high unemployment rate (24%), with 50% of the population living below the poverty line. It is a multicultural and multireligious country with eleven official

Table 3.1 *Sample Descriptive Statistics*

	Chile (Maule)	India (Karnataka)	Indonesia (Jakarta)	Kenya (Western)	South Africa (Gauteng)	Spain (Basque)
Mean Age (SD)	15.94(1.36)	15.30(1.48)	15.88(2.06)	16.34(1.74)	17.31(0.71)	15.02(1.08)
Gender (Female %)	45.52	52.81	69.33	47.92	24.62	52.11
Parental Education (%)						
No Education	1.63	1.69	2.09	4.14	-	5.14
Primary Education	16.26	7.12	23.34	7.59	1.54	13.39
Secondary Education	52.44	34.27	50.70	41.38	48.46	53.49
Tertiary Education	29.67	51.69	23.69	43.45	36.92	25.78
Sample Religious Fractionalization	0.53	0.19	0.17	0.66	0.56	0.46
Gross National Income (PPP *Per Capita*)	$ 21 310	$ 3 840	$ 4 810	$ 1 760	$ 11 180	$ 32 320
Country Cultural Diversity	-1.73	0.15	0.89	1.45	1.21	-0.68

Note. Parental education was centered within country (region). Sample Religious Fractionalization scores closer to 0 indicate homogeneity and closer to 1 indicate heterogeneity. Cultural Diversity was computed from the mean of centered Ethic and Linguistic Fractionalization scores, the table contains mean standardized scores.

languages. South Africa experiences persistent social, economic, and political cleavages along ethnocultural lines. It is the fourth most religious country in this sample, with 85% of the population stating that religion plays a role in their lives. Christianity is the dominant religion in South Africa. In South Africa, data were collected at a public high school in the city of Germiston in Ekurhuleni, a metropolitan area east of Johannesburg with a population of 255,863 in the Gauteng Province. Gauteng is representative of the four major ethnocultural groups in South Africa: Black (62.3%), Coloured (2.3%), Indian or Asian (3.0%), and White (31.3%; StatsSA, 2012). The school is multicultural and is in a predominantly White affluent suburb, which is slowly becoming more multicultural. The dominant religion of the school and area is Christianity, although there is much tolerance of other religions.

Spain is the twelfth largest economy in the world, with its population enjoying a high standard of living. Although Spanish is the only official language, several other languages (notably Catalan and Basque) dominate in specific regions. The data for this study came from the Basque region in the North of Spain. Despite its status as a Catholic state, Spain is the least religious country in this sample, with only 49% of its population indicating that religion plays a major role in their lives. In Spain, data were collected from nine high schools across the Gipuzkoa Province in the Basque country, in the North of Spain. The province has a population of 705,210, of which the largest proportion is predominantly Basque-Spanish (93.3%; Basque Statistics Office, 2011). The population also includes a small number of students from other ethnic groups, such as Latin-American, Moroccan, and Sub-Saharan Black African. Schools are in mainly moderate to high affluent suburbs.

Measures

Sociodemographic questionnaire. Participants provided sociodemographic information such as age, gender, religion, and parental education that was used as a proxy for SES (the mean standardized score of maternal and paternal education represented parental education). Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) of country differences in age [$F(5, 1425) = 46.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$], indicated significant differences, with South Africa having the oldest participants. Chi-square analysis for gender [$\chi^2(5, N = 1431) = 56.15$, $p < .001$] indicated that Spain had the most females.

Identity. Participants completed a personal identity and two social (ethnic and religious) identity measures.

Personal Identity. An adapted version of the Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory – Personal Identity Subscale (EPSI; Rosenthal, Gurney &, Moore, 1981) was used to measure personal identity. This scale contains 12 items that are rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not applicable to me*) to 5 (*Always applicable to me*). Items 1, 3, 7, 10, 11, and 12 were reserved scored. The EPSI measures intra-psychic identification (e.g., "I like myself and am proud of who I am").

Ethnic Identity. The Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) was used to measure ethnic identity. The scale contains 12 items that are rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly agree*). It measures identification with one's ethnic group (e.g., "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to").

Religious Identity. The Religious Identity Short Scale (RISS, adapted from Dimitrova et al., 2012) was used to measure religious identity. The scale contains 6 items that are rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not applicable to me*) to 5 (*Always applicable to me*). It measures how individuals feel about their religious views (e.g., "My faith impacts many of my big decisions").

Psychological Well-being*:* Participants completed life satisfaction and general psychological health measures. Both these measures have been deemed unidimensional and their invariance have been confirmed by studies conducted by Abubakar et al. (2013a, 2013b) using similar population groups to those represented by the samples in this study.

Life Satisfaction. The Brief Multidimensional Student Life Satisfaction Scale (BMSLSS, Huebner et al., 2006) contains 6 items that are rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Terrible*) to 7 (*Delighted*). It measures life satisfaction in five different domains and at global well-being level (e.g., "I would describe my satisfaction with my overall life as").

Poor Mental Health. The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12, Goldberg, 1972) contains 12 items and screens for minor non-psychiatric mental health problems. Participants are asked to think about the last four weeks and rate how they felt in response to items such as "Felt constantly under strain", on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Better than usual*) to 4 (*Much less than usual*). Participants also respond to items such as "Been feeling unhappy and depressed", on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 4 (*Much more than usual*). Higher scores indicate poorer mental health.

Table 3.2 *Scale Reliabilities as Indicated by Cronbach's Alpha*

		Country (Region)					
	Items	Chile (Maule)	India (Karnataka)	Indonesia (Jakarta)	Kenya (Western)	South Africa (Gauteng)	Spain (Basque)
Identity							
Personal Identity	12	.80	.67	.63	.75	.71	.76
Ethnic Identity	12	.92	.71	.75	.78	.88	.91
Religious Identity	6	.90	.77	.77	.76	.91	.90
Psychological Well-being							
Life Satisfaction	6	.85	.79	.74	.70	69	.78
Poor Mental Health	12	.71	.77	.71	.78	.85	.82

Sample- and Country-Level Indicators

Religious diversity. At the sample-level, we computed a fractionalization score[7] for religion (see Alesina, Devleeschauwer, Easterly, Kurlat, & Wacziarg, 2003), for each country in this study. This religious fractionalization score provided a sample-specific indication of religious diversity. Fractionalization scores range from 0 to 1, with a value closer to 1 indicative of greater heterogeneity (See Table 3.1).

Cultural diversity. At the country-level, cultural diversity was computed by combining ethnic and linguistic fractionalization indexes for each of the countries in this study (Alesina et al., 2003). Ethnic Fractionalization per country is as follows: Chile, .19; India, .41; Indonesia, .74; Kenya, .86; South Africa, .78; and Spain, .42. Linguistic Fractionalization per country is as follows: Chile, .19; India, .81; Indonesia, .77; Kenya, .89; South Africa, .87; and Spain, .41. As these scores were highly correlated ($r = 1.00$, $p < .001$) we computed a single cultural diversity score from means of standardized ethnic and linguistic fractionalization scores (Table 3.1).

Affluence. At the country-level, Gross National Income (GNI; World Bank, n.d.) indicates affluence in international dollars. GNI was corrected for Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) *per capita*. Table 3.1 provides an overview of country level indicators.

Results

Psychometric properties of scales

The internal consistencies for all measures across the countries are presented in Table 3.2. We found that in most cases reliabilities for identity and psychological well-being measures are good (Cronbach's $\alpha > .80$), adequate (Cronbach's $\alpha > .70$), or, in three cases (personal identity in India, $\alpha = .67$ and Indonesia $\alpha = .63$ and life satisfaction in South Africa $\alpha = .69$), acceptable (Cronbach's $\alpha > .60$; George & Mallery, 2003).

We used multigroup CFA in AMOS to ascertain measurement invariance for the identity measures across the countries (Van de Schoot, Lugtig, & Hox, 2012). Full configural invariance was obtained for all three identity measures. Full metric invariance was obtained for ethnic identity and partial metric invariance for personal and religious identity (Table 3.3

[7] The Fractionalization score was computed using the following equation: $1 - \sum_{k=1}^{K} p_k^2$, where k is the number of different groups (religious or ethnic) and p_k is the proportion of each group in the population or sample.

displays an overview of fit statistics). Partial scalar invariance was obtained for personal and ethnic identity measures, but no scalar invariance was obtained for religious identity.

Table 3.3 *Measurement Invariance for Identity Scales*

	χ^2/df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	AIC	BCC
Personal identity						
Full Configural Invariance	1.72***	.89	.94	.02	1017.35	1082.53
Partial Metric Invariance	1.73***	.89	.93	.02	1012.68	1072.74
Partial Scalar Invariance	1.79***	.88	.92	.02	1024.91	1082.92
Ethnic Identity						
Full Configural Invariance	2.09***	.92	.95	.03	1104.27	1160.85
Full Metric Invariance	1.98***	.93	.94	.03	1074.14	1119.43
Partial Scalar Invariance	2.14***	.92	.93	.03	1125.04	1169.32
Religious Identity						
Full Configural Invariance	3.39**	.94	1.00	.04	332.33	348.77
Partial Metric Invariance	2.77***	.96	.99	.04	344.03	358.37
Scalar Non-invariance	16.69***	.62	.74	.11	1220.15	1230.80

Note. Scalar Non-Invariance in the religious identity scale indicates that there were no identical item intercepts. TLI = Tucker–Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation; AIC = Akaike Information Criterion; BCC = Browne-Cudeck Criterion.
**p < .01. ***p < .001.

To establish whether the removal of items in the scales with partial scalar invariance had any impact of the size of the cross-cultural differences found in these measures we compared the size and patterning of means for identity measures[8] across countries before and after skipping the biased items. We concluded that the violations did not have a major impact on the observed differences. Differences observed for the entire scale were similar to those differences when the best items were used to make comparisons. Based on these results full scalar invariance was assumed in subsequent analyses.

Individual-, Sample-, and Country-Level Indicators of Identity

The limited number of countries in this study did not allow for full-fledged multilevel modeling. We therefore chose to add country-level predictors (gross national income and

[8] Similar to the analyses presented in Chapters 2, and 7, we included Best Item Means and Full Scale Means, in a MANOVA. The patterning of groups did not change substantially and the difference in partial eta square was not very large (e.g. for Religious Identity Best Item Means η_p^2 = .39 and Religious Identity Full Scale Means η_p^2 = .39). We assumed full scalar invariance, and used the Full Scale Means for comparison.

ethnolinguistic fractionalization) to individual-level predictors (age, gender, and parental education) and sample-level religious diversity (religious fractionalization) in a hierarchical multiple regression model. This approach implies that country-level values are assigned to individuals. Country-level values may have a limited applicability at the individual level (ecological fallacy). However, we reasoned that the impact of this fallacy would be limited in the comparison of country means. This reasoning was based on the fact that there is much cultural heterogeneity in the countries in this study and it is plausible that this cultural variation is well reflected in the means derived from the individual level. Despite this argument, the regression weights of country-level predictors were interpreted with caution.

We conducted a three-step hierarchical multiple regression model in which individual-level independent variables were entered in the first step, the sample-level independent variable was entered at the second step, and the country-level independent variables were entered in the third step. We assessed three separate models with identity dimensions (personal identity, ethnic identity, and religious identity) as dependent variables. In the first step, individual-level variables contributed significantly to the regression model accounting for 1% of the variance in personal identity, 1% of the variance in ethnic identity, and 2% of the variance in religious identity. With the addition of the sample-level religious fractionalization in the second step, an additional 4% of the variance in personal identity, 2% of the variance in ethnic identity, and 4% of the variance in religious identity was explained. In the third step, country level variables were added, which explained additional 1%, 5%, and 33% of the variance in personal identity, ethnic identity, and religious identity respectively.

As can be seen in model three (presented in Table 3.4) personal identity was more salient for adolescents who had more highly educated parents and who were more religiously diverse. Ethnic identity was more salient in younger adolescents and in adolescents with more highly educated patents, and in countries where there was less religious diversity and more cultural diversity. Religious identity was more salient in female adolescents, and in more religiously diverse and less affluent contexts.

In our first hypothesis, we expected personal identity to be more salient in affluent contexts. This hypothesis was partially supported as the study found that national affluence was not associated with personal identity. However, individual-level SES as well as religious diversity was associated with personal identity, indicating that personal identity was salient across both affluent and less affluent contexts. We found support for the second and third

hypotheses, which stated that ethnic identity was more salient in culturally diverse contexts (Hypothesis 2) and that religious identity is more salient in contexts that are more religiously diverse, high on religiosity and less affluent (Hypothesis 3).

Table 3.4 *Regression Weights for Variables Predicting Identity*

Variable	Personal Identity	Ethnic Identity	Religious Identity
	β	*β*	*β*
Model 1			
Age	.01	-.01	**.14*****
Gender	-.02	.01	-.03
Parental Education	**.08****	**.08****	.03
R^2	.01	.01	.02
F	3.19*	2.71*	9.72***
Model 2			
Age	-.00	.00	.15***
Gender	.01	-.01	**-.05***
Parental Education	**.08****	**.07****	.03
Sample Religious Fractionalization	**.20*****	**-14*****	**-.19*****
R^2	.05	.03	.06
ΔR^2	.04	.02	.04
F for Change in R^2	16.75***	9.13***	20.77***
Model 3			
Age	-.03	**-.07***	-.03
Gender	.01	-.02	**-.05***
Parental Education	**.08****	**.06***	.00
Sample Religious Fractionalization	**.23*****	**-.08****	**.12*****
Gross National Income (PPP)	-.01	-.14	**-.66*****
Country Cultural Diversity	.08	**.30*****	-.02
R^2	.05	.10	.39
ΔR^2	.01	.08	.33
F for Change in R^2	13.15***	26.30***	148.78***

Note. Gender codes: Male = 0, Female = 1.
$^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

Association between Identity and Psychological Well-Being

We tested a structural equation model in which a latent identity factor, indicated by personal identity, ethnic identity, and religious identity, influences a latent psychological well-being factor, indicated by life satisfaction and poor mental health. The analyses indicated that

personal identity needed a direct link with the latent well-being factor. The link was positive, indicating that personal identity was more important for psychological well-being than ethnic and religious identity dimensions.

Table 3.5 *Fit Statistics for Multigroup Analysis*

Model	χ^2/df	AGFI	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
Measurement weights	1.86^{**}	0.96	0.95	0.98	0.03	-	-
Structural weights	*1.84^{**}*	*0.96*	*0.95*	*0.97*	*0.02*	*17.63*	*10*
Structural covariances	2.06^{***}	0.95	0.93	0.95	0.03	18.77^{**}	5
Structural residuals	1.92	0.95	0.94	0.96	0.03	3.43	5
Measurement residuals	6.54^{***}	0.86	0.66	0.56	0.06	413.42^{***}	30

AGFI = Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index; TLI = Tucker–Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation. Most restrictive model with a good fit is in italics.

$^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

The structural weights model was the most restrictive model with an adequate fit, $\chi^2(37, N = 1{,}432) = 67.94$, $p < .01$, $\chi^2/df = 1.84$, $|\Delta CFI| = 0.008$ (see Table 3.5). All factor loadings were highly significant (see Figure 3.1). Personal and social dimensions of identity were good indicators of a latent identity factor and poor mental health and life satisfaction were good indicators of latent psychological well-being. Across countries identity had a positive, significant relationship ($\beta = .21$, $p < .001$) with psychological well-being, and personal identity was directly related to psychological well-being beyond the latent identity factor ($\beta = .62$, $p < .001$). These findings support Hypothesis 4.

Discussion

The aims of this study were to examine how: (a) individual-, sample-, and country-level aspects relate to personal and social dimensions of identity, and (b) how identity serves the same purpose for adolescents' psychological well-being across contexts in Chile, India, Indonesia, Kenya, South Africa, and Spain. Although mean differences for adolescent identity across contexts were found, personal and social identity dimensions were interrelated (Deaux, 1993) and both positively associated with psychological well-being. However, personal identity was more important than social identity dimensions for psychological well-being across countries.

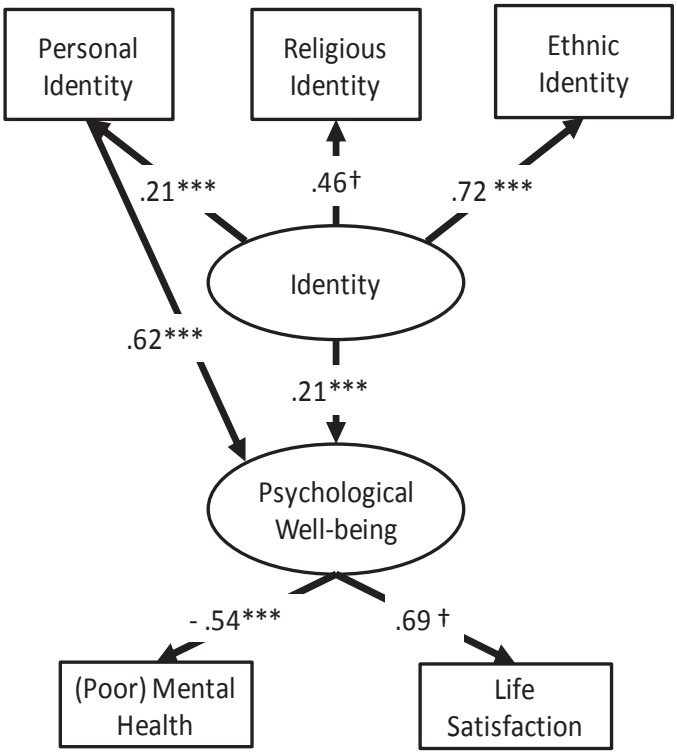

Figure 3.1 The Relationship between Identity and Psychological Well-Being
Note. Coefficient means for the six countries are presented
***p < .001, † Fixed at a value of 1 in unstandardized solution

Individual-level indicators yielded interesting results. Firstly, adolescents from more affluent homes may experience more salience in both personal and ethnic identity. Personal identity was not associated with country-level affluence as expected, but rather with individual-level affluence (indicated by SES), which was higher in countries such as India, Kenya, and South Africa. In addition, these are culturally diverse contexts, where ethnic group membership is important and therefore ethnic identity was salient in these contexts (Phinney, 2000). It may be that adolescents from higher socioeconomic backgrounds have more options available for defining themselves and distinguishing themselves from others while at the same time emphasizing their ethnic belonging. It is also possible that at this stage, these adolescents experience the need to place individual-level values and goals on par with ethnicity in terms of importance.

Secondly, younger adolescents experience higher salience in their ethnic identities. This may be because these adolescents emphasize their feelings of belonging in accordance with what their parents have taught them about their ethnic group membership (French et al., 2006). They may not have had the opportunity to have gone through a stage of ethnic identity exploration, which is considered important for developing a clear understanding of how ethnicity is important for them (Phinney, 1992). Without longitudinal data, we are unable to confirm whether this association is truly developmental. Finally, religious identity was more salient in girls compared to boys. This finding is in accordance with previous research that indicated that religious commitment and involvement is often more important for girls than boys (Furrow et al., 2004; Lopez et al., 2011).

This study focused mainly on the sample- and country-level indicators as these were linked to the hypotheses. We found that religion was important in two ways: (a) across contexts in our sample most of the variance was explained in religious identity (33%); and (b) religious diversity (fractionalization) was related to all identity dimensions. More specifically, in contexts that are more diverse in terms of religion, personal and religious identities were more salient while ethnic identity was less salient. In addition, ethnic identity was more salient in culturally diverse contexts, while national affluence was negatively associated with religious identity.

In terms of ethnic identity, we found that ethnic identity is more salient in culturally diverse contexts. This finding is similar to studies concerning ethnic identity in solely Western contexts (French et al., 2006; Phinney, 2000; Verkuyten, 2011). Ethnic identity plays an important role for adolescents in culturally diverse non-Western contexts. In Kenya, South Africa, and Indonesia adolescents seem more aware of their ethnic group membership than in the other countries included in the sample. This may be due to ethnic group membership being associated with higher SES or with access to resources in these countries. Secondly, both personal identity and religious identity seem to be salient in religiously diverse contexts such as Kenya, South Africa, Chile, and Spain. This may be because religion might facilitate optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991) in religiously diverse contexts. Religion appears to be an aspect of the individual's identity that promotes a sense of belonging as well as promoting a personal, individuated conception of identity that distinguishes the individual from the group.

Finally, we found that much of the variance was accounted for by the negative association between country level affluence and religious identity. The secularization hypothesis (P. Norris & Inglehart, 2004) may account for this finding. Spain (the most affluent context in this sample) and Chile (the largest emerging economy in this sample) were the most affluent contexts studied and these countries also had the most adolescents who self-identified themselves as atheists (26.97% and 15.57% respectively). The secularization hypothesis holds that more secularized contexts tend to place a higher emphasis on autonomy and rational thinking, and these contexts thus have fewer conformists than less secularized contexts (Caldwell-Harris, 2012). It seems likely that these associations, which have previously been observed among adults in these contexts, are probably already present among adolescents in these contexts. In the secularization process, religious identity loses its salience. For atheists non-religiousness may be not be seen as a source of pride or identity.

The multigroup path analysis indicated that the relationship between personal and social dimensions of identity were similar for adolescents' psychological well-being across contexts. In accordance with results reported by previous studies, we found that identity functions similarly across contexts (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2006; S. J. Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002), thus confirming the interrelated nature of personal and social identity dimensions (Deaux, 1993) as well as their positive association with psychological well-being (Rodriguez et al., 2010; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010). In addition, in our study personal identity appeared to be more important than social identity for psychological well-being. We would argue that this is due to adolescent identity formation requiring personal agency (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2006). This suggests that, across various contexts, personal aspects of identity, autonomy, and achieving personal needs and goals contribute more than group membership towards psychological functioning in adolescents. Identity is a negotiated process that comprises personal, social, and contextual aspects of 'who adolescents are' and the intra-individual aspects may therefore be the more crucial consideration in this process.

Recommendations and Conclusion

This study is not without certain limitations. The samples were not representative of the countries in which data were collected. A replication of this study with a more representative sample would help to generalize these findings. Assumptions regarding personal and social identity dimensions, and their salience in affluent Western and less affluent non-Western contexts respectively, are somewhat limited (Phinney, 2000; S. J.

Schwartz, 2009). The distinction seems too simplistic for the complexities of modern societies and has implications for the future study of identity. An integrated approach is needed in future cross-cultural studies, where there has previously often been a focus on either personal or social identity dimensions (most often with an emphasis on the latter).

In conclusion, this study found that cultures do vary significantly in identity salience. The results suggest that ethnic identity is more salient in multicultural contexts, whereas personal identity is important across both Western and non-Western contexts. The most striking differences in identity were present in religious identity. More Western, affluent, traditionally Roman Catholic countries (Chile and Spain) had undergone the most secularization, with religion playing a somewhat weaker role in identity. Religious identity was stronger in countries that were less affluent, non-Western, and less historically Roman Catholic. However, the pattern of associations in relation to the dynamics of identity and well-being did not differ significantly across contexts. More in-depth longitudinal inquiry concerning the association between religiosity and personal and social identity is required. This would assess, and provide insight into the impact of individual-, and group-level participation, practice, and commitment to religion with both personal and social identity development.

Section II

BOURNE ULTIMATUM

Chapter 4

What Self-Descriptions Tell Us about Ourselves

Byron G. Adams, Fons J. R. Van de Vijver, Gideon P. De Bruin

Published

What Self-Descriptions Tell Us about Ourselves*

Self-descriptions are a means of defining the self and contain information about an individual's conceptualization of the self and identity (Bond & Cheung, 1983; McAdams, 1995; McAdams & Pals, 2006; Somech, 2000). The study of self-descriptions is concerned with the investigation of culture-specific features and similarities present in individualistic (Western, independent, and idiocentric) and collectivistic (non-Western, interdependent, and allocentric) cultural groups (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Somech, 2000; Yeh & Hwang, 2000). This research study examined the presentation of identity in South Africa in free self-descriptions using personality trait theory, independence–interdependence (individual-level) and individualism–collectivism (group/cultural-level) as the theoretical basis of inquiry. The study examined differences in self-descriptions amongst the four main ethnocultural groups in South Africa, as defined by the South African government. In order to provide a context for the study, we present a definition of identity and then describe relevant elements of South African culture and identity. Finally, the four variables considered important for the examination of identity are discussed. These variables are (a) relational orientation, (b) attribute descriptions (specifying traits and other contents), (c) situational specification, and (d) ideological references.

Identity

The term identity is used in relation to both individuals and groups (Verkuyten, 2005). Identity refers to predetermined stable aspects of personhood, such as biological sex or age (Alberts, Mbalo, & Ackerman, 2003; Ford, Harris, & Scheurger, 1993) as well as to fluid aspects in the context of the person such as, choices regarding life partners, work, or interests (Giddens, 1990; Scott & Lane, 2000; Svenningson & Alvesson, 2003; Watson, 2008). Identity involves the complex interplay between various private, social, and contextual components that contribute to defining the person as a composite being.

According to Sluss and Ashforth (2007) a person is a simultaneously unique, interpersonal, and collective being (see also Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Kreiner et al., 2006). This research accommodated this multilayered view of personhood by drawing on perspectives from both personal and social identity. Perspectives related to personal identity

*This chapter is based on: Adams, B. G., Van de Vijver, A. J. R., & De Bruin, P. G. (2012). Identity in South Africa: Examining self-descriptions across ethnic groups, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 36*, 377-388. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.11.008.

emphasizes individual characteristics. In terms of self-descriptions, this translates as a focus on personal traits, values, preferences, and goals. In contrast, perspectives of social identity place emphasis on relational aspects of personhood and group membership. In particular, social identity focuses on the beliefs, feelings, and behaviors attributed to a group, which are considered acceptable by the larger group (Reid & Deaux, 1996; Terry, Hogg, & White, 1999). Within social identity perspectives both group membership and the way in which individuals relate to others in their self-descriptions are important. Personal and social identity aspects influence people's behavioral choices as they negotiate their identity within their social contexts (Ashmore et al., 2004; Hogg et al., 1995; Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991; Verkuyten, 2005). The present study was conducted in South Africa and it is therefore important to understand the South African context. The section below provides a description of the four main ethnocultural groups involved in this study and the importance of their cultural contexts for identity.

The South African Context

Ethnocultural groups in South Africa. The term ethnicity refers to a specific group's cultural characteristics and can include norms, values, attitudes, and typical behaviors (Verkuyten, 2005; Yeh & Hwang, 2000). Prior to 1994 South Africa was governed by a political system known as *apartheid*, which was based on a sociopolitical model of oppression of all 'non-white' ethnocultural groups. In the South African context, ethnic identity is thus related to the way in which individuals and groups overcome this degradation of their ethnicity (Ford et al., 1993). The presence of different ethnicities within the South African context is thus a consequence of particular historical and developmental experiences. South Africans are classified as belonging to four broadly defined ethnocultural groups (speaking eleven official languages). These groups are referred to as Black (speaking Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu), Coloured (speaking Afrikaans and English), Indian (speaking English), and White (speaking Afrikaans and English; StatsSA, 2010). Three of the ethnocultural groups speak English either as their major language (Indian group) or as one of their major languages (Coloured and White groups). Similarly, both the White and Coloured groups speak Afrikaans as a major language. Despite the language similarities, these groupings are distinct and occupied very different positions under *apartheid*, with the White group dominant over the other groups.

The Black group refers to the Bantu speaking people of South Africa and constitutes the largest portion (79.4%) of the South African population (StatsSA, 2010). This group consists of nine different traditional cultural groups, distinguished by language. This group was heavily discriminated against during the colonial and *apartheid* periods in South Africa. During *apartheid* the Black group was stripped of their citizenship and land and their movement was heavily legislated and restricted. Although the present democratically elected government has implemented policies of affirmative action and social redress designed to foster social and economic equality for this group, unemployment and poverty remain rampant among the Black group. Individuals in the Black group are typically employed as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers or are unemployed due to lack of quality education. However, over the last ten years a proportionally small (but rapidly increasing) number of individuals from this group have established themselves as middle-class professionals, government officials, and entrepreneurs. The Black group is considered collectivistic in nature. The core and extended family unit as well as the community are important and there is an emphasis on traditional values (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Joyce, 2009). This group has recently incorporated some Western beliefs, particularly Christian religious beliefs, into daily cultural practices and ethnic beliefs (Laher & Quy, 2009).

The Coloured group is comprised of people of mixed descent. These individuals have mixed ancestry that may include the first European settlers and the indigenous KhoiKhoi, San, Black, or immigrant Asian populations. The Coloured group contains approximately 8.8% of the South African population and 50% of the Afrikaans (the language spoken by descendants of the Dutch settlers) speaking population (StatsSA, 2010). This group received conditional political status under British rule, but during *apartheid* this was removed. This resulted in the limiting of the Coloured group's political and economic opportunities. During *apartheid* this group experienced less severe legal discrimination than the Black group. The Coloured group is a beneficiary of the social policy of affirmative action and, since the start of the democratic era in 1994, there has been rapid growth in the Coloured middle class population. However, most Coloured individuals still work as semi-skilled laborers or in the service industry. This group considers themselves culturally distinct from the other South African ethnocultural groups, but shares some religious beliefs, values, and traditional practices with the groups from which they descended (Joyce, 2009; Laubscher, 2003). The Coloured group is considered collectivistic because they place great importance on the core and extended family.

The Indian group consists of individuals whose ancestors came to South Africa from South Asia and the Indian subcontinent and constitutes 2.6% of the population (StatsSA, 2010). Although some of the ancestors of this group came to South Africa as slaves, the majority emigrated from India in the early 1900s with the hope of building a better life under British South African rule. This group is predominantly English speaking. During colonial and *apartheid* rule this group's movement was heavily restricted (and even prohibited in some areas) and their political and economic opportunities were limited. This group was allowed more freedom than the Black group and Indian individuals were permitted to become relatively well educated. This group has been relatively economically successful and Indian individuals functioned as merchants and middle to upper class professionals even prior to their inclusion in affirmative action regulation. The Indian group is considered collectivist as they maintain many of the traditions, practices, and languages that form part of their Indian heritage. However, a large portion of the group also incorporates Western religious beliefs (Joyce, 2009).

The White group comprises people of European descent. Based on spoken language; the group can be divided into two subgroups. These subgroups are referred to as the Afrikaner (Afrikaans speaking descendants of the Dutch, German, and French Huguenot settlers) and the English (English speaking descendants of the British and Irish settlers and more recent Western and Eastern European immigrants) groups. The White group, as a whole, constitutes 9.2% of the South African population (StatsSA, 2010). During the colonial and *apartheid* eras, people from this group were politically and economically dominant. White individuals had access to good education and employment opportunities, which in turn ensured economic affluence. At present this group may be somewhat disadvantaged by affirmative action, which provides challenges for employment and promotional opportunities, particularly for White males. This group has traditional Christian and Western individualistic values and place more emphasis on the immediate core family unit rather than on the extended family (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Joyce, 2009).

Identity in South Africa. The social, political, and economic discrepancies between the White group and the three other ethnocultural groups (Mattes, 2004; Seekings, 2008) continue to influence each group's identity. These four ethnocultural groups are characterized by differences in their identities that predate the establishment of *apartheid* and are due to cultural development and social organization. The groups' developmental

experiences under *apartheid* were very different (Jackson, 1998). The *apartheid* Group Areas Act and the Native Resettlement Act created geographical borders that separated the ethnocultural groups (Athiemoolam, 2003) and intensified already strong feelings of cohesion and ethnic identity, which continue to deeply segregate South African society (Mattes, 2004). This continued segregation is important to the understanding of identities in each group, particularly in terms of cultural aspects such as individualism–collectivism.

Identity Categorization

Within South Africa individuals in the White group tend to come from cultures with individualistic orientations, whereas individuals from the Black, Coloured and Indian groups come from more collectivistic cultures (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Green, Dechamps, & Páez, 2005; Laher, 2008; Seekings, 2008; Vogt & Laher, 2009). Members of individualistic cultures tend to focus on personal and unique attributes and seek to distinguish themselves from others, whereas members of collectivistic cultures focus more on inclusion in the larger social group. The concepts of individualism and collectivism and the related concept of independence–interdependence formed the main theoretical background for this study's examination of identity in the self-descriptions of South African ethnocultural groups (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Jackson, 1998).

Based on the literature concerning self-descriptions and a preliminary analysis of the data, this study argues that identity in South African groups, as measured in self-descriptions, differs in terms of four components: (a) relational orientation, (b) attribute descriptions, (c) situational specification, and (d) ideological references. This classification system originates from models of independence–interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1998), individualism–collectivism (Hofstede, 2001), and traitedness (Church, 2009). These are explained below.

Relational Orientation. The relational orientation category highlights the distinction between individualistic and collectivistic features of identity (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Eaton & Louw, 2000). Members of individualistic cultures are characterized by a sense of autonomy and self-fulfillment. They distinguish their unique qualities and regulate their own behavior. Their identities are largely based on personal accomplishments and they therefore tend to have an independent orientation. In contrast, members of collectivistic cultures are characterized by a strong sense of mutual obligation and cooperation. These individuals consider the social contexts in which they are placed. They depend on the group to provide guidance in terms of acceptable behavior. Their identities are strongly based on relational

aspects and group membership and they tend to have an interdependent orientation (Grace & Cramer, 2003; Somech, 2000; Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985; Watkins, Yau, Dahlin, & Wondimu, 1997).

This study distinguished between the South African ethnocultural groups in terms of independence and interdependence. We expected the White group's self-descriptions to place more emphasis on individualistic, distinguishable qualities and personal accomplishments when compared to the self-descriptions of the other groups. In contrast, we expected the self-descriptions of the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups to place more emphasis on collectivistic, relational, and social aspects than the self-descriptions of the White group. These expectations were tested using the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Independence is more strongly represented in the self-descriptions of the White group than in the self-descriptions of the Black, Indian, and Coloured groups.

Hypothesis 2. Interdependence is more strongly represented in the self-descriptions of the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups than in the self-descriptions of the White group.

Attribute descriptions. Personality theory, specifically trait theory, plays an important role in understanding identity. Traits are important elements of identity (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993; McCrae & Costa, 2003) that provide information about what people are like (McAdams, 1995). The influence of individualism–collectivism on traits and behavior differs in Western and non-Western contexts. Research suggests that traits provide more accurate descriptions of behavior in individualistic, Western cultures than in collectivistic, non-Western cultures (Church, Katigbak, Miramontes, Del Prado, & Cabrera, 2007; Dwairy, 2002; Laher, 2008; Vogt & Laher, 2009). Individualism tends to focus on the concept of an independent, autonomous self where goals are self-directed and emphasis is placed on inner attributes (Brewer & Chen, 2007). Explanations for and predictions of behavior are therefore predominantly driven by considerations of traitedness, which emphasizes the stability of behavior across contextual situations (Church, 2009). In the context of this study we expected this difference to be reflected in the self-descriptions of persons from different cultural contexts. The following hypothesis was tested:

Hypothesis 3. Dispositional (trait) descriptions are more frequently used in the self-descriptions of the White group than in the self-descriptions of the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups.

Situational Specification. Various researchers have argued for the situational specification of personality traits, which provides a more appropriate perspective for understanding personality in the context of collectivistic cultures (Church et al., 2006; De Raad et al., 2008; Kammrath, Mendoza-Denton, & Mischel, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 1998; McAdams & Pals, 2006). Matsumoto, Hee Yoo, and Fontaine (2009) introduced the concept of context differentiation, which suggests that different contexts have an influence on an individual's behavior in different cultures. Individuals from different cultures therefore differ in terms of the degree to which their behavior is influenced by situational requirements. Context differentiation is particularly important in collectivistic cultures where cultural norms, situational expectations and specific roles guide behavior and situational aspects and relational considerations are therefore of great importance (Church, 2009; De Raad et al., 2008). In the context of this study it was expected that the self-descriptions of individuals from the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups would contain more situational specifications than the self-descriptions of individuals from the White group. This expectation was tested using the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4. The self-descriptions of individuals in the White group have fewer situational specifications than the self-descriptions of individuals in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups.

Ideological References. South African groups distinguish themselves using various aspects of ethnicity, race, religion, and cultural practice. This category of identity was initially developed as a result of the observation that religiosity and spirituality are common aspects of the everyday lives of many South Africans, irrespective of their cultural backgrounds (Laher, 2008; Laher & Quy, 2009). This category also accommodates references in self-descriptions to ethnic categories relating to traditional and cultural practices (e.g., Verkuyten & De Wolf, 2002; Yeh & Hwang, 2000). In the context of this study we expected that all the groups would

make use of ideological references in their self-descriptions. Due to the influence of both historical and current social, political, and economic factors, this category was expected to be equally salient across all groups.

Hypothesis 5. The self-descriptions of the Black, Coloured, Indian, and White groups make equal reference to ideological aspects.

Method

The study made use of the original qualitative dataset from the South African Personality Inventory (SAPI[9]) project (Cheung, Van de Vijver, & Leong, 2011; Valchev et al., 2011) and extracted data of participants who provided self-descriptions. The SAPI project's objectives are (a) to develop an indigenous theoretical model of personality, and (b) to develop a personality measure that complies with South Africa's employment equity legislation (Government Gazette, 1998; Van de Vijver & Rothmann, 2004). South Africa's employment equity legislation, specifies that any psychometric instrument used in South Africa must be valid and reliable across all South African ethnocultural groups.

Participants and Setting

The SAPI project used a stratified sampling strategy in order to obtain samples from all four identified ethnocultural groups (Black, Coloured, Indian, and White) within the South African context. The intention of the SAPI project was that each sample should contain adequate variation in terms of gender, age (below and above 35 years), and educational groups (low, medium, high) in order to ensure that all combinations of gender, age, and educational level were equally represented in the samples. However, this proved to be impossible due to the complex multicultural nature of the South African population. In particular, the required variation in education was difficult to achieve in some groups. In total, 568 participants from the overall SAPI sample provided self-descriptions. This participant

[9] The SAPI, an acronym for the South African Personality Inventory, is a project that aims to develop an indigenous personality measure for all 11 official languages in South Africa. Participants are Byron Adams (University of Johannesburg and Tilburg University, the Netherlands), Deon de Bruin (University of Johannesburg), Karina de Bruin (University of Johannesburg), Carin Hill (University of Johannesburg), Leon Jackson (North-West University), Deon Meiring (University of Pretoria and University of Stellenbosch), Alewyn Nel (North-West University), Ian Rothmann (North-West University), Michael Temane (North-West University), Velichko Valchev (University of Pretoria), and Fons Van de Vijver (North-West University, Tilburg University, the Netherlands, and University of Queensland, Australia).

group consisted of Black (*n* = 479, inclusive of all major traditional language groups with the exception of Pedi), Coloured (*n* = 30), Indian (*n* = 21), and White (*n* = 38) participants.

Instrument and Procedure

The SAPI project collected data by means of interviews conducted with participants in their first language. During these interviews participants were asked to provide self-descriptions as well as personality descriptions of other people. Interviews focusing on self-descriptions were conducted in ten (Pedi was excluded) of the official South African languages. The interviews included participants from the four largest ethnocultural groups. Interviewers who were fluent in one or more languages conducted the interviews. The interviewers were all trained to conduct the semi-structured interviews and the interviews were audio recorded. The interviews were transcribed in the original language and were then translated into English for further analysis. All translations were quality checked by language experts in order to ensure that the essence of person descriptions was accurately captured in English. In total 3884 self-descriptions, Black (*n* = 2771), Coloured (*n* = 609), Indian (*n* = 210), and White (*n* = 294), were extracted from the original dataset.

Coding Scheme

Background. Self-descriptions allow individuals to articulate their unique differences and their shared experiences in "a free response format" (Bond & Cheung, 1983, p. 154). Self-descriptions are thus descriptions of individuals' perceptions of themselves in their own words. They are thus not restricted by the fixed formulations of items provided in quantitative instruments or questionnaires (Bond & Cheung, 1983). The Twenty Statements Test (TST) is the most commonly used instrument for eliciting free self-descriptions (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Del Prado et al., 2007; Eaton & Louw, 2000; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). In the TST individuals provide self-descriptions by completing the phrase 'I am...'. Reports of TST analyses guided the main strategies for the analysis of the self-description data in this study (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Grace & Cramer, 2003; Somech, 2000). The content of the self-descriptions in this study were analyzed in relation to various aspects such as individualistic–collectivistic identity, traits and dispositional attributes, physical attributes, preferences, aspirations, beliefs, activities (Rhee, Uleman, Lee, & Roman, 1995), global identities, or combinations of the these attributes (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Del Prado et al., 2007; Grace & Cramer, 2003; Ma & Schoeneman, 1997; Somech, 2000).

Coding categories. The self-descriptions in this study were coded using a schema based partly on the TST literature and partly on the nature of the data. We followed an iterative (inductive and deductive) process in order to assign descriptive codes to each self-description. Composite descriptions received more than one code (a detailed explanation of the coding scheme is presented in Table 4.1). Four categories were used: (a) relational orientation, (b) attribute descriptions, (c) situational specification, and (d) ideological references. Each self-description was scored on each of the four categories.

The first category, which was labeled relational orientation, tested Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2. The independence and interdependence aspects of the self-description responses were considered in relation to these hypotheses. Independence was coded under the personal orientation subcategory (e.g., "I am Intelligent"; see Table 4.1). Preliminary coding of the data pointed to the need to subdivide interdependent responses into three subcategories: implicit relational orientation (no target person is specified, e.g., "I am friendly"); explicit relational orientation (a target person or group of people is specified, e.g., "I like people"); and collective membership orientation (group explicitly mentioned, e.g., "I belong to a charity organization").

In the second category attribute descriptions were coded to test Hypothesis 3. Subcategories were derived iteratively from the data and existing literature (see Brewer & Chen, 2007; Del Prado et al., 2007). For example, preferences, interests, beliefs, and attitudes were coded under the preference description subcategory (e.g., "I like music"). A similar procedure was adopted for the development of all subsequent subcategories used to code content in self-descriptions.

The third category consisted of situational specifications and was used to test Hypothesis 4. This category accounted for contextual behavior related aspects. Self-descriptions were coded as situational when they contained information concerning why a person would behave in a certain way, and the conditions or context within which their behavior took place (e.g., "'I prefer to work hard in the morning" or "I am strict at school").

The fourth category, ideological references, was used to test Hypothesis 5. All references to religious, spiritual, and ethnic attributes as well as cultural and traditional practices were coded as either absent or present in this category (e.g., "I am Zulu" or "I like praying").

Table 4.1 *Coding Scheme*

Categories	Definition	Example
Relational Orientation		
Personal Orientation	Individualistic, personal traits, states and behaviors that are focused on the target individual	"I am intelligent"
Implicit Relational Orientation	Relational orientation without a target	"I am friendly"
Explicit Relational Orientation	Relational orientation with a target	"I help others"
Collective Membership Orientation	Indicate membership with large or small groups, and roles	"I am a mother" or "I am Venda"
Attribute Descriptions		
Preference Description	Interests, attitudes and beliefs	"I love people"
Purpose Description	Wants, aspirations and desires	"I want to do well"
Emotive Description	Feelings and emotional states	"I am feeling sad"
Competency Description	Skills, abilities and knowledge	"I know how to solve problems"
Action Description	Activities, actions, habits and practices	"I grow vegetables"
Dispositional Description	Traits, dispositions, and states	"I am quiet"
Virtue Description	Personal qualities and virtues	"I have a sense of humor"
Situational Specification		
No-Context Specification	Provides no additional information present or target	"I am strict"
General Content Specification	Qualifying adverbs/adjectives and general, non-specific targets	"I have legs like a bottle"
Conditional and Temporal Specification	Situational, conditional and temporal indications	"I am sometimes social" or "I hit them if they are lazy"
Context Specification	Provides a specific context	"I am strict at church"
Other		
Ideological Reference	Spiritual, ideological, religious beliefs, actions and membership	"I am Christian" or "I like traditional food" or "I pray"

The quality of the categorical coding was established using inter-rater reliability. Two separate coders coded a sample of the data independently and achieved 90% agreement with regard to the presence of subcategories across the four categories in their coding of the data.

Statistical Analysis

Loglinear analyses were conducted for each of the above categories with cultural group and categories of self-descriptions as independent variables and the frequencies of the responses as dependent variables. This analysis fitted a model with only two main effects.

The hypotheses predicted differential effects of categories across different ethnocultural groups and we expected a poor model fit (due to significant interactions between cultural group and coding category) for a main effects only model. However, in terms of this research the nondirectionality of these interaction components were problematic. Thus, even if an interaction component was significant, it was still important to ascertain whether the patterning of the cell frequencies were in line with the prediction. Further tests of the hypotheses were conducted by inspecting the standardized residuals for each cell in the loglinear analysis. Standardized residuals close to zero indicated that frequencies of self-descriptions are similar across ethnocultural groups (i.e., with the same relative frequency). Standardized residuals in the theoretically expected direction with absolute values larger than 1.96 (2.58 and 3.29) suggested significant effects at $p < .05$ ($p < .01$ and $p < .001$ respectively). This was an indication that there were significant differences in the frequencies of self-descriptions across groups (Cramer, 2006; Field, 2009).

Results

Relational Orientation

The investigation first examined relational orientation differences across the four main ethnocultural groups. As predicted, the model with only main effects yielded a poor fit to the data; $LR(9, N = 3730) = 184.38$, $p < .001$. An examination of the main effects of the subcategories yielded an interesting picture, displayed in Table 4.2. All the ethnocultural groups used self-descriptions in the Personal Orientation subcategory ($b = 3.32$, $Z = 28.22$, $p < .001$) more frequently than self-descriptions in the other three subcategories. Implicit and explicit relational orientation self-descriptions did not differ significantly from each other. Collective membership orientation was the least frequently mentioned subcategory for all groups.

It was expected that self-descriptions in the White group would include relatively more personal orientation responses (Hypothesis 1) than those in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups. In addition, self-descriptions in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups were expected to include relatively more implicit and explicit relational orientation and collective membership orientation responses (Hypothesis 2) than those in the White group. However, as can be seen in Table 4.3, neither of the two hypotheses were fully supported (the results in relation to the hypotheses tests are summarized in Table 4.4).

Table 4.2 *Parameter Estimates of the Categorical Variables*

				95% CI	
Categories	Estimate	*SE*	Sig.	LB	UB
Relational Orientation					
Personal Orientation	3.32	.12	.001	3.09	3.55
Implicit Relational Orientation	2.39	.12	.001	2.16	2.63
Explicit Relational Orientation	2.50	.12	.001	2.26	2.74
Collective Membership Orientation	0[a]		.	.	.
Attribute Descriptions					
Preference Description	2.86	.12	.001	2.63	3.10
Purpose Description	-0.33	.18	.064	-0.69	0.02
Emotive Description	-0.09	.17	.615	-0.41	0.25
Competency Description	0.01	.16	.935	-0.31	0.34
Action Description	1.96	.12	.001	1.72	2.21
Dispositional Description	2.82	.12	.001	2.59	3.06
Virtue Description	0[a]	.	.	.	.
Situational Specification					
No-Context Specification	4.53	.17	.001	4.19	4.86
General Content Specification	2.51	.18	.001	2.16	2.86
Conditional and Temporal Specification	2.15	.18	.001	1.79	2.50
Context Specification	0[a]	.	.	.	.
Other					
No-Ideological Reference	2.80	.07	.001	2.66	2.94
Ideological Reference	0[a]	.	.	.	.

Note. CI = Confidence Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound.
[a]This parameter is the reference category, set to zero.

The standardized residuals for personal orientation in the White group were in the expected direction but were not significant. An unexpected finding was that the White group had a relatively large number of implicit relational orientation responses (i.e., interdependent responses). The White group's infrequent use of explicit relational orientation and collective membership orientation categories was in line with expectations. The Black group's self-descriptions revealed an infrequent use of the implicit relational orientation subcategory. The Coloured group's self-descriptions were in line with expectations for two subcategories, with a significant underrepresentation of the personal orientation subcategory and an overrepresentation of the explicit relational orientation subcategory. The Indian group's results were similar to those of the White group for implicit and explicit relational orientation. In summary, the distinction between independence and interdependence in relational responses was less clear than predicted by the hypotheses. The implicit and explicit relational orientation subcategories, which both included aspects of collectivistic responses, yielded

more salient differences between individualistic and collectivistic groups, than the other two subcategories.

Table 4.3 *Proportions (P) and Standardized Residuals (SR; significant residuals in bold) of Relational Orientation, Attribute Descriptions, Situational Specifications and Dimensions, and Ideological References across Ethnocultural group*

	Black		Coloured		Indian		White	
Categories	*P*	*SD*	*P*	*SD*	*P*	*SD*	*P*	*SD*
Relational Orientation								
Personal Orientation	.59	0.79	.52	**-2.85****	.68	0.39	.63	1.34
Implicit Relational Orientation	.14	**-2.81****	.14	-0.25	.21	**3.91*****	.34	**5.70*****
Explicit Relational Orientation	.24	1.07	.32	**4.75*****	.10	**-4.00*****	.04	**-6.74*****
Collective Membership Orientation	.02	1.43	.02	-0.81	.01	-1.01	.00	-2.38*
Attribute Descriptions								
Preference Description	.49	**8.26*****	.20	**-6.51*****	.14	**-5.55*****	.02	**-9.80*****
Purpose Description	.02	-0.27	.02	1.48	.01	-1.23	.01	-0.26
Emotive Description	.02	-0.87	.02	0.27	.06	**2.92****	.04	-0.34
Competency Description	.02	**-2.20***	.06	**5.36*****	.03	0.23	.01	-1.35
Action Description	.17	0.11	.24	**3.99*****	.10	-1.90	.06	**-4.20*****
Dispositional Description	.28	**-6.78*****	.44	1.81	.62	**5.78*****	.79	**11.88*****
Virtue Description	.01	**-3.79*****	.03	**2.28***	.05	**2.63****	.07	**5.41*****
Situational Specification								
No-Context Specification	.80	0.68	.69	**-3.31*****	.83	0.40	.93	**2.35***
General Content Specification	.14	1.03	.12	1.05	.09	-0.76	.03	**-4.03*****
Conditional and Temporal Specification	.06	**-3.86*****	.19	**9.97*****	.08	-0.19	.04	**-2.35***
Context Specification	.01	1.17	.00	-1.01	.01	-0.62	.00	-1.60
Other								
No-Ideological References	.95	-0.55	.97	0.45	.98	0.36	.99	0.74
Ideological References	.05	**2.24***	.03	-1.83	.02	-1.46	.01	**-3.01****

$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Attribute Descriptions

We hypothesized (Hypothesis 3) that attribute descriptions would be more common in the White group than in the Black, Indian, and Coloured groups and this hypothesis was partially supported (see Table 4.4). As expected, a poor fit of the model with only main effects suggested the relevance of the interaction component; LR (18, N = 3730) = 632.07, $p < .001$.

Table 4.4 *Summarized Results of Hypotheses*

Hypotheses	Result	Explanation of result
Relational Orientation		
Hypothesis 1: Independence is more strongly represented in the self-descriptions of the White group than in the self-descriptions of the Black, Indian, and Coloured groups.	Partially supported	The White group is the most independent group. The Indian group's presentation of similar results was not expected.
Hypothesis 2: Interdependence is more strongly represented in the self-descriptions of the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups than in the self-descriptions of the White group Content Description.	Partially supported	The Black group is the most interdependent group, with only the Coloured group presenting similar results.
Attribute Descriptions		
Hypothesis 3: Dispositional (trait) descriptions are more frequently used in the self-descriptions of the White group than in the self-descriptions of the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups.	Partially supported	The Indian and White groups are more dispositional than the Coloured and Black groups.
Situational Specification		
Hypothesis 4: The self-descriptions of individuals in the White group have fewer situation specifications than the self-descriptions of individuals in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups.	Partially supported	The White group was the only group that presented fewer situational specifications, with the other three groups presenting ambiguous results in this category.
Ideological References		
Hypothesis 5: The self-descriptions of Black, Coloured, Indian, and White groups make equal reference to ideological, religious, spiritual, and ethnic aspects	Rejected	The Indian and White groups are more dispositional than the Coloured and Black groups.

Table 4.2 shows that the frequency of responses in the preference description (b = 2.86, Z = 23.96, p < .001) and dispositional description (b = 2.82, Z = 23.59, p < .001) subcategories were not significantly different. However, when combined with the action description subcategory (b = 1.98, Z = 15.81, p < .001) the frequency of responses in these subcategories were significantly different from all other subcategories including virtue descriptions (the reference category). The purpose description (b = −0.33, Z = −1.86, p = .064), emotive description (b = −0.09, Z = −0.50, p = .615), and competency description (b = 0.13, Z = −0.08, p = .935)

subcategories were non-significant and any differences present in these categories were thus not considered.

The results showed that the dispositional and virtue description subcategories were very salient in the White group, a finding that was in line with the expectations. However, the White and Indian groups provided relatively few preference and action description responses. In the Coloured group, action and virtue description categories were prominent but preference descriptions were less common. In contrast, the Black group had relatively high frequencies in the preference description category and low frequencies in the dispositional and virtue description categories. These findings supported the initial expectations.

In summary, it appears that the differences between the Black and White groups were most pronounced and were largely in line with expectations. The dispositional description subcategory was more salient in the self-descriptions of the White, Coloured, and Indian groups than in the self-descriptions of the Black group. In contrast, the preference description subcategory was more salient in the self-descriptions of the Black group than in the self-descriptions of the White, Coloured, and Indian groups.

Situational Specification

As expected, a model with only main effects yielded a poor fit; LR (9, N = 3730) = 144.32, $p < .001$. The self-descriptions in the no-context specification subcategory were significantly more common than the self-descriptions in other subcategories across all groups ($b = 4.53$, $Z = 26.25$, $p < .001$), with general content specification, and conditional and temporal specification not being significantly different from each other. In other words, a context-free self-description was the most common response for all the groups. We expected the self-descriptions in the White group to be more context-free than those in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups. In addition, the self-descriptions in the three latter groups were expected to have proportionally more general content, conditional and temporal, and context specification responses (Hypothesis 4) than those in the White group. This hypothesis was partially supported.

In summary, the expectation that the White group's self-descriptions would be more context-free than those of the other groups was supported. However, the Coloured group was the only non-Western group to show significant salience of contextual influence (as indicated in the conditional and temporal specification subcategory).

Ideological References

The model showed a poor fit; LR (3, N = 3730) = 25.21, $p < .001$. The no-ideological references subcategory contained relatively higher frequencies than the ideological references subcategory (b = 2.80, Z = 38.46, $p < .001$). Ideological references were expected to be equally important across the Black, Coloured, Indian, and White groups (Hypothesis 5). This hypothesis was not supported. The standardized residuals indicated that the self-descriptions of the Black group were overrepresented in the ideological references subcategory.

Discussion

This study examined the ways in which the identities of Black, Coloured, Indian, and White groups in South Africa are revealed in free self-descriptions. Independence–interdependence, individualism–collectivism, and trait theory were used as starting points and a coding scheme was developed for coding self-descriptions of identity. This coding resulted in four categories: (a) relational orientation; (b) attribute description; (c) situational specification; and (c) ideological reference. The study found important cross-cultural differences as well as salient commonalities among the groups. The findings indicate that regardless of ethnocultural group, self-descriptions were primarily individualistic; described preferences, dispositions, or actions; did not specify context. Seld descriptions also did not often refer to ideological, religious, spiritual, and ethnic aspects. Typical examples of these responses are “ambitious”, “believe in myself” and “I am a quiet person”.

Closer analysis of the data showed that the Black group’s self-descriptions contained more explicit relational orientation and more preference description responses than the self-descriptions of the other groups. These self-descriptions were often context free (e.g., “I like other people”). The Coloured group placed more emphasis on explicit relational orientation, and action and virtue descriptions, which were conditional or temporal in terms of context. Examples include: “sometimes you get angry and then people see you in a different light” and “I have time for other people”. Finally, the self-descriptions in the Indian and White groups contained mainly implicit relational orientation responses that were dispositional and virtue based, such as “I am kind” or “I have respect”.

The study’s expectations, which can be briefly summarized as the presence of more interdependent and situation specific and less traitedness type responses in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups than in the White group, were largely met by the two

ethnocultural groups that are culturally and linguistically most distant from each other, namely the Black and White groups. The Coloured and Indian groups' results place them between the Black and White groups and position them as neither completely Western (individualistic) nor completely non-Western (collectivistic). The group profiles (Table 4.3) clearly show that the White group defines its identity by emphasizing context-free dispositions, virtues, and implicit relational orientations while simultaneously de-emphasizing preferences, actions, and explicit relational orientations. In contrast, the Black group displays a pattern that is almost the exact opposite of that displayed by the White group. The Indian group's profile is fairly similar to that of the White group. The Coloured group's profile has components of the profiles of both the White and Black groups.

The theoretical frameworks of independence–interdependence and individualism–collectivism explain most of the observed group differences. However, the study also highlighted limitations in the traditional conceptualization of these concepts. Collectivistic responses were divided into subcategories depending on whether they were implicitly relational (not mentioning but implying the presence of others; e.g., "I am friendly"), explicitly relational (mentioning others; e.g., "I am kind to others"), or referred to collective membership orientation (mentioning a collective; e.g., "I am Coloured" or "I am a lawyer"). The individualistic self-descriptions captured in the personal orientation subcategory (e.g., "I am intelligent") were used most frequently across all groups. The observed group differences should be viewed against the backdrop of this important cross-cultural similarity. The largest cross-cultural differences were found for implicit and explicit relational orientation. The self-descriptions in the White and Indian groups included more implicit relational orientation than those of the Black and Coloured groups. The collectivistic aspects of identity in the White and Indian groups thus seem to generally refer to others in a broad sense, which is in keeping with previous research findings that suggest that in-group – out-group distinctions are more blurred in individualistic than in collectivistic cultures (Triandis, 1995). The self-descriptions of the groups that make more references to others therefore seem to be more orientated toward the in-group than the self-descriptions of groups that make fewer references to others. The self-descriptions of the latter groups often involve non-targeted others (e.g., "I am kind"), which suggests that the in-group – out-group distinction is less important to these groups.

Traited, context-free self-descriptions were common in the White group. This finding is in keeping with expectations for a Western culture (Church, 2009; Church et al., 2007; De Raad et al., 2008; McCrae & Costa, 2003). Interestingly this type of self-descriptions was the most frequent type of self-description for all groups, although it was relatively less common in the non-Western (Black, Coloured, and Indian) groups. Thus, there was a high degree of similarity across the four ethnocultural groups. The study also found that among the non-Western groups, the Coloured and Indian groups placed more emphasis on traited context-free self-descriptions than the Black group. The Black group placed particular importance on the preference description category, which highlights the prominence of values, interests, and preferences in identity. In contrast, the other groups emphasized the importance of traits in identity. It appears that values and preferences are particularly salient in the Black group. This may be indicative of the importance this group places on various aspects of tradition and social obligation. This finding links to Hofstede's (2001; also see Roodt, 2009) concept of long-term orientation, which suggests that some ethnocultural groups attach relatively high value to their links with their history and ancestors. The patterning of responses in the Black group reflects a focus on targeted others and specifying situational and temporal relationships. This focus on targeted others suggests that contextualization of identity is more important in this group than in the White group.

Race, ethnicity, tradition, and religion play a large role in South African life and discourse (Laher, 2008; Laher & Quy, 2009; Low, Akande, & Hill, 2005; Thom & Coetzee, 2004) and the ideological reference category was thus expected to be equally important to all groups. However, this expectation was not met. Ideological reference descriptions were fairly important in the self-descriptions of the Black group, but were mentioned relatively less frequently by the White and Coloured groups. The relative importance of these aspects in the self-descriptions of the Black group may be due to the strong focus on history and ancestors in Black traditional cultures. This may have been reinforced by the experience of oppression during *apartheid* and the ensuing increased ethnic awareness. The responses in this category typically involve group membership (ethnic group or religious denomination). The relatively high frequency of these responses in the Black group corresponds to the pattern found throughout the research, which suggests that collectivistic responses are more salient for this group than for the other groups.

This study has implications for the frequently used dichotomy of independence (individualism) and interdependence (collectivism) in South Africa. Firstly, the findings suggest that individualistic self-definitions are prevalent in all ethnocultural groups and that the ethnocultural groups thus share many similarities. Previous studies (e.g., Watkins et al., 1997) have reported similar results for other ethnocultural groups. Secondly, the study found that the variation across ethnocultural groups is much too complicated to be captured by the simple independence–interdependence dichotomy. The findings show considerable variation among the three collectivistic groups, with the Coloured and Indian groups being less collectivistic than the Black group. These findings support the need to treat these groups as separate to the Black group despite their categorization as non-Western and collectivistic (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Green et al., 2005).

Finally, the study found that the concepts of independence and interdependence in Western and non-Western cultures (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Oyserman et al., 2002) are not as clear-cut as expected (Vogt & Laher, 2009). This complexity is at least partially due to implicit and explicit relational orientation considerations. If we consider the impact of wealth on individualism–collectivism, members of individualistic cultures are often affluent in the South African context, and are often prepared to invest in the larger social domain (out-group) as they can expect more in return. Members of collectivistic cultures are often poorer than members of individualistic cultures in the South African context. They frequently expect relatively more from the in-group and less from the out-group (Fijneman, Willemsen, & Poortinga, 1996). This orientation was also observed in this study. One of the main sources of cross-cultural difference is the lack of a target person in the self-descriptions of the Indian and White groups, which suggests that the out-group (not-specified) others are relatively important to these groups. In contrast, the Coloured and Black groups' self-descriptions emphasize in-group descriptions. In summary, although social aspects of identity were found in all the ethnocultural groups they manifested differently in the different groups.

Limitations of the study

The limitations of this study relate to the use of a secondary dataset. Firstly, the dataset's lack of biographical information concerning education and employment limited the scope for analysis. However, although these factors are relevant for self-descriptions, this study's focus was not on finding individual-level associations between background variables and self-descriptions, but on identifying patterns of discourse in self-descriptions across

ethnocultural groups in South Africa. Future studies could determine the extent to which identified differences in relational orientation are attributable to educational differences. Secondly, because the person descriptors were collected primarily with the aim of studying personality, it is possible that personality aspects were overrepresented in the self-descriptions. However, the concepts of personality and identity are so closely linked that even with the relatively strong representation of personality aspects most salient identity aspects were also represented (Stryker, 2007). Thirdly, the size of the Coloured, Indian, and White sample groups were relatively small and this may adversely affect the cross-sample stability of the results. Finally, the choice of a research design that nested interviewers within ethnocultural groups made it impossible to evaluate any interviewer effect on self-descriptions.

Recommendations and Conclusion

There are several recommendations for future research. First, this study could be replicated by generating a primary dataset that focuses on probing deeper into individual identity. This would involve considering the ways in which individual and group past and present experiences contribute to identity (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993; Griessel & Kotzé, 2010) as well as the impact of socio-economic status and other demographic aspects on self-descriptions. Second, the results of this study question the often taken-for-granted split between Western (individualistic) and non-Western (collectivistic) cultures. The findings suggest that cultural variability cannot be captured by this simple dichotomy. We suggest that further studies be conducted to determine where these ethnocultural groups could be positioned in terms of the individualism–collectivism concept and how these aspects could be understood within the South African context. Third, the assumption that all the cultural and language groups represented in the Black group are homogenous should be tested. This is especially important because, to our knowledge, there are currently virtually no comparative studies for these groups. Fourth, we recommend further inquiry into the difference between the personal orientation and the implicit relational orientation aspects of self-descriptions. This may be an important consideration in the understanding of cultural difference. Fifth, the current study was unable to address the relative size of within- and between-group differences. Future studies should use data that is more amenable to analyzing this question and thereby establish the importance of collective membership orientation. Finally, there is a question about the relationship between the traditional conceptualization of

independence–interdependence, individualism–collectivism, and its relevance in an African context. This leads to questions regarding how this may relate to the discussion of explicit and implicit relational orientation and the in-group – out-group distinction.

Chapter 5

How What We Say about Others Tell Us about Ourselves

Byron G. Adams, Fons J. R. Van de Vijver, Gideon P. De Bruin, Cynthia Bueno Torres

Submitted

How What We Say about Others Tells Us about Ourselves*

This research study is interested in developing a global framework for understanding how the identity of others (other-identity) is structured based on the analysis of how people talk about others. The previous study (Chapter 4) addressed expressions of identity in self-descriptions across four South African ethnocultural groups (Black, Coloured, Indian, and White). The present study focuses on other-descriptions in the same four ethnocultural groups. The term other-descriptions refers to descriptions of people external to the self, such as a parent, a friend, or a teacher. Similar to the analysis of self-descriptions (see Chapter 4), the analysis of other-descriptions is expected to provide insight into the implicit structure used in these other-construals.

A model of self-identity was developed in an earlier study (see Chapter 4). The self-identity model contains four constituent dimensions: attributes; relatedness; situational aspects; and ideology (see also Ashmore et al., 2004, for a similar model of collective identity). In this study, the relative frequencies of these dimensions across self-descriptions were fairly similar across ethnocultural groups, with context-free, intraindividual descriptions prevailing in all groups. Cross-ethnic differences were found in two areas. Firstly, in the attribute dimension, dispositional descriptions were most commonly used by the White group, whereas preference descriptions prevailed in the Black group. Secondly, the relational orientation dimension (discussed in more detail in the section below) provided a refinement of the individualism-collectivism dichotomy (Chapter 4). We argue that this model of self-identity is also relevant for understanding other-identity. The model of other-identity includes the same four dimensions (attributes, relatedness, situational aspects, and ideology). In addition, we argue that a model of other-identity should be more complex than a self-identity model because other-identity is potentially influenced by more factors than self-identity. More specifically, we argue that other-descriptions vary along two additional constituent dimensions: social distance; and valence.

In the next section, we first provide an overview of the cultural context of ethnicity and identity in South Africa. The following section presents a model of identity in relation to

* This chapter is based on: Adams, B. G., Van de Vijver, A. J. R., De Bruin, P. G., & Bueno Torres, C. (2013). *Identity in descriptions of others across ethnic groups in South Africa*, Manuscript submitted for review

the four dimensions highlighted in Chapter 4 as well as the social distance and valence dimensions.

The Cultural Context of Ethnicity and Identity in South Africa

We examined the four major ethnocultural groups (Black, Coloured, Indian, and White) in South Africa as a basis for cross-ethnic inquiry. The Black group (79.4% of the population) is composed of the nine indigenous Bantu-speaking groups. The Coloured group (8.8%) comprises of people of mixed descent (primarily Black, Malay, Khoisan, Indian, and European), who speak mainly Afrikaans. The Indian group (2.6%) consists of the descendants of indentured laborers and traders who came to South Africa in the latter part of the 1800s from the Indian subcontinent with the prospect of building a better life. The Indian group speaks mainly English, but has also retained much of its South-Asian subcontinental culture. The White group (9.2%) consists of Afrikaans and English speaking groups who are descendants of the Dutch settlers who migrated to South Africa in the mid-1600s as well as English settlers from the early 1800s. This group also includes immigrants from a variety of other European countries who have settled in South Africa over the last 200 years (StatsSA, 2010).

Since the beginning of Western colonization of South Africa in 1652 the economically and politically dominant White group has systematically discriminated against the indigenous people. During the *apartheid* era (1948-1994), this discrimination was formalized in policies and laws discriminating against the Black group and, to a lesser extent, the Coloured, and Indian groups. Pre-existing cultural and social differences between the various ethnocultural groups were intensified during *apartheid* due to legislation such as the Group Areas Act and the Native Resettlement Act, which separated groups based on ethnicity and language and assigned them specific areas of settlement (Athiemoolam, 2003; Jackson, 1999).

The democratization of South Africa in the early 1990s spurred a move towards social and economic redress through government policy, in particular affirmative action and the abolishment of laws that prevented intergroup contact. However, the segregation that characterized the *apartheid* era has not disappeared and South African society still remains largely segregated at social, political, and economic levels (Glaser, 2010). At present, most Black individuals are employed as unskilled and semiskilled laborers, whereas Coloured and Indian individuals are mainly employed in the service and trade industries, respectively (Roodt, 2009). The Black group has the highest unemployment rate (28.9%), followed by the Coloured (23.6%), Indian (10.8%), and White (5.6%) groups (StatsSA, 2010). However, increased

government initiatives to generate economic growth and policies, such as affirmative action and black economic empowerment, have resulted in a steady growth in the number of middle class individuals from the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups (Glaser, 2010).

The identity of these ethnocultural groups is a particularly interesting topic of study because although each group's identity is rooted in traditional cultural aspects that long preceded *apartheid*, these differences were reinforced by the *apartheid* regime that legalized oppression and legislated separation along racial lines. Differences in the social, political, and economic experiences of each of these groups therefore play an important role in their identities (Jackson, 1999; Seekings, 2008). Although the Black group constitutes the majority of the population the belief and values structures of the White group remains dominant as Western norms prevail in economic and business sectors. Cultural distances between ethnocultural groups are still very real and large in South Africa, particularly because each group has at some point experienced, and continues to experience, legal, political, or economic oppression.

A Model of Identity

Conceptual work on identity is usually based on personal and social identity perspectives (Hogg et al., 1995; Terry et al., 1999), and is often closely linked to personality theory (McAdams & Pals, 2006; Stryker, 2007). Identity is influenced by various stable physiological-biological (e.g., biological sex and age), relational (e.g., kin), and contextual (e.g., culture; Simon, 2004) factors. Identity is the result of the conscious and unconscious negotiation of experiences and interactions that define an individual as a personal and social being (H. Ferguson, 2009; Schmeichel & Baumeister, 2004; Weinreich, 2003). Identity informs us about similarities to, differences from, and empathetic links between individuals and groups (H. Ferguson, 2009), and guides decisions about behavior (Weinreich, 2003).

In everyday language, the word identity refers to that which makes a person unique and distinguishable from others. Psychological theories of identity have moved beyond a simplistic view of identity in order to address social aspects and the ontogeny of this uniqueness. The conceptualization of identity used in this study does not focus on these individual perspectives or their uniqueness (McAdams, 1995; Weinreich, 2003), but instead focuses on the broad underlying structure that allows for the classification of descriptions of individuals. The objective is to understand how identity is construed by examining descriptions of others in order to highlight how these descriptions consist of dimensions based

on relationships with others (relational dimensions), usage of types of words (attributes and ideological dimensions), contexts of behavior (situational dimension), and positive and negative evaluation (valence dimension). These dimensions represent most categories used to classify self-descriptions in the literature (Del Prado et al., 2007) and, in combination with ethnicity and social distance (social distance dimension), they provide the basic structure of other-identity.

Relating Identity to Descriptions of Others

If self-identity, that is an individual's view of "who I am", is based on interactions with others, and self- and other-identity are intertwined, then the study of identity should address both how an individual construes his or her own identity and how that individual construes the identity of others. There are currently no well-defined and tested models of other-identity in psychology. According to Weinreich (2003), descriptions of others provide an "evaluation of the overall attributes of another [person as he or she is] in line with [our] own value system" (p. 47). The psycholexical tradition argues that important everyday concepts about personality are captured in the lexicon and that studying personality-descriptive terms in a language can therefore result in the identification of implicit theories of personality among speakers of the language (e.g., Saucier & Goldberg, 2001). This study argues that the same reasoning applies to the study of other-identity and that its structure can be identified by studying the use of other-descriptions.

The relational orientation dimension: An alternative to individualism-collectivism. The concept of relational orientation is rooted in existing frameworks about individualism-collectivism (Triandis, 1995), independence-interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Somach, 2000), and interpersonal relations (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Relational orientation is defined as the perceived importance individuals or groups attach to relationships and it reflects the degree to which self- or other-descriptions deal with personal and/or relational aspects. According to Fischer et al. (2009), individualism-collectivism refers to an individual's perception of him- or herself, how they relate to others and the goals and concerns that influence how they behave. Individualism is defined by personal autonomy and the achievement of personal goals, whereas collectivism exists when an individual is viewed primarily as part of a group and the achievement of communal goals and well-being is valued above the achievement of individual goals and well-being. The individualism-collectivism model forms the theoretical basis for a large number of cross-cultural inquiries (Oyserman et

al., 2002). The model has also met with criticism, which usually relates to the argument that the simple individualism-collectivism dichotomy does not do justice to the complex patterning of cross-cultural differences. This has resulted in research attempting to delineate the distinction more meaningfully (see Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; A. P. Fiske, 2002; Realo, Allik, & Vadi, 1997; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998; Somech, 2000).

In particular, Brewer and colleagues have argued for an extension of the individualism-collectivism dichotomy through the inclusion of a middle category, labeled interpersonal relatedness, which refers to how individuals relate to close others in comparison to how they relate to the general group. This echoes the work of Realo et al. (1997), who found evidence for differentiating subgroups of collectivists based on the foci of collectivism, namely family, peers, or society. In line with this work, in this study individualism-collectivism was reconceptualized in terms of the relational orientation dimension. In this conceptualization personal orientation (individualism) and collective membership orientation (collectivism) are situated at the endpoints of the relational orientation dimension. In a personal orientation, identity is relatively weakly influenced by relationships and is more strongly influenced by intra-individual characteristics (e.g., age and personality), internal attributes (e.g., cognitive skills, abilities, and dispositions), and external attributes (e.g., appearance). In contrast, in a collective membership orientation, relationships, and inter-individual aspects, such as group membership, acceptance, and belonging, are seen as more important parts of identity. In South Africa, the White group is traditionally regarded as individualistic, and the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups are regarded as collectivistic (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Laher, 2008; Seekings, 2008).

The African concept of *Ubuntu*, which advocates personhood through others (Bamford, 2007), is similar to the idea of a collective membership orientation. The concept emphasizes a strong focus on how an individual relates to others and involves a self-definition in which others play a crucial role. Chapter 4 discussed a study that tested the applicability of the individualism-collectivism framework to self-descriptions as a cultural dimension in the South African context. The study found that individualism-collectivism as a cultural dimension did not provide a detailed account of relational aspects present in these groups. Two limitations of the individualism-collectivism framework in relation to self-identity were identified. Firstly, individualism-collectivism could not distinguish clearly between the three collectivistic groups (i.e., Black, Coloured, and Indian), which vary greatly in terms of cultural, linguistic, social, and

religious aspects. Thus, the use of collectivism as a single label ignores salient differences among these groups.

Secondly, the cultural differences did not primarily involve individualism and collectivism (the endpoints of the relational orientation dimension). In addition to the endpoints of the relational orientation continuum, the study distinguished two intermediate positions that showed much more cross-cultural variation than the endpoints. These intermediate positions were labeled implicit and explicit relational orientation. Implicit relational orientation is closer to the personal orientation end of the continuum, which is the endpoint of the relationship orientation dimension that is akin to individualism, whereas explicit relational orientation is closer to the collective membership orientation end of the continuum, which is the endpoint akin to collectivism. Descriptions pertaining to an implicit relational orientation imply the presence of others but do not contain explicit references to these individuals (e.g., are "being kind" or "being helpful"). In explicit relational orientation descriptions others are implied and explicitly mentioned (e.g., "being kind to strangers or friends"). If the others mentioned in such descriptions are collectives, such as church or national groups, these descriptions illustrate collective membership orientation. In line with previous studies on individualism-collectivism (e.g., Oyserman et al., 2002), we propose that individuals and cultures differ in the importance they attach to relationships and that these differences can be mapped onto the relational orientation continuum (see Chapter 4).

We expect that the group differences found for self-identity in Chapter 4 will also be applicable to other-identity. Thus, the largest ethnic differences are expected in the two middle categories: implicit relational and explicit relational orientation. This expectation is tested in the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis 1:* Other-identity descriptions have proportionally the most relational references in the Black group and the least in the White group, with the Coloured and Indian groups in the middle.

The attribute, situational, and ideological dimensions of identity. The attribute and situational dimensions are closely related to previous research in personality (Church et al., 2006). The attribute dimension is defined by the content characteristics of the descriptions. In other words, it refers to the presence or absence of dispositions (e.g., "He is gregarious"),

actions (e.g., "He hits children"), preferences (e.g., "She likes good food"), and emotional states (e.g., "She feels sad"). Dispositions as attributes are argued to be important in individualistic Western contexts (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Church, 2009), and were found to be mainly presented in the self-descriptions of the White South African group. According to the results presented in Chapter 4, the White South African group is relatively less relationally oriented (in comparison to the other South African ethnocultural groups).

The situational dimension considers the degree to which descriptions are contextualized. It examines the conditions used to specify attributes (De Raad et al., 2008; Matsumoto et al., 2009). This dimension assesses the conditions and contexts of behavior (e.g., "He likes coffee only in the afternoon" or "He enjoys being alone at home"). Situational descriptions are crucial for understanding behavior in collectivistic non-Western contexts (De Raad et al., 2008). Coloured South Africans, who are relatively more relationally orientated according to the results presented in Chapter 4, generate more situational self-descriptions than other South African ethnocultural groups.

The ideological dimension accounts for references to cultural, spiritual, and ethnic indicators. It is closely related to aspects of social identity (Laher & Quy, 2009; Phinney, 1992; Verkuyten & De Wolf, 2002; Yeh & Hwang, 2000) and identifies not only references to cultural, religious, and ideological aspects (e.g., "He is a traditional Zulu man") but also attributes linked to these aspects (e.g., "He tells cultural folk tales"). These references to social aspects of identity are important in collectivistic non-Western groups (Phinney, 2000). In the study described in Chapter 4 these descriptions were used most frequently by individuals in the Black South African group, which has a stronger relational orientation than the other South African groups.

We expect that the findings regarding the attribute, situational, and ideological dimensions of other-identity will replicate those found for self-identity (as reported in Chapter 4). Thus, we expect more relationally oriented groups to describe others more in terms of situations, to provide more ideological descriptions such as reference to ethnic or religious groups, and to describe others using less dispositional descriptions.

> *Hypothesis 2*: Other-identity descriptions given by individuals from ethnocultural groups with a stronger explicit relational orientation and collective membership orientation have proportionally more situational and ideological and fewer

dispositional references than descriptions given by individuals from ethnocultural groups with a more personal orientation and implicit relational orientation.

The social distance dimension. Social distance refers to the proximity of others to the self. Other-descriptions are often construed in the confines of roles. This means that role expectations provide patterns of behavior attributed to an individual occupying a particular position in society (Biddle, 1986). In addition, the function of roles is to provide an individual with the structure to participate in society (McCrae & Costa, 2003). However, we chose to avoid simply including roles as constituent elements of other-identity. This is because roles are categorical variables that can come in endless varieties (H. Ferguson, 2009) and this makes them impractical to use within a model of identity. Furthermore, the link between roles and the underlying structure of identity is uncertain. It is not yet clear whether the structure of other-identity varies across roles and, if this is the case, what dimensions or typologies are relevant in the description of variations in other-identity. This study focuses on one dimension of roles, social distance, as a relevant dimension in the structure of other-identity.

Social distance is viewed as a dimension that extends the in-group – out-group dichotomy that is popular in intergroup relations literature (e.g., Elder, Douglas, & Sutton, 2006; Triandis, 1995). Social distance refers in this study to the relative distance (or alternatively, proximity and closeness) between a target person and other individuals or groups (Kocan & Curtis, 2009; Lee, Sapp, & Ray, 1996). The social distance dimension considers the psychological (Nan, 2007) and emotional (Van de Vijver, Mylonas, Pavlopoulos, & Georgas, 2006) distance between individuals and/or groups.

S. T. Fiske and Cox (1979) addressed the relationship between social distance and descriptions of others. They stated that proximal individuals are described in language that is more concrete and contextualized, whereas distal individuals are described in language that is more abstract and more based on norms and cultural values (see also McAdams, 1995). Other researchers have found that non-Western groups describe others more contextually than Western groups, who tend to use more dispositional descriptions (Choi, Nisbett, & Norenzayan, 1999). Groups that are more relationally orientated make clearer distinctions between proximal and distal individuals (Fijneman et al., 1996), and we therefore expect that these groups would show more variation in other-descriptions (in terms of the constituent components of identity) with social distance (S. T Fiske & Cox, 1979; McAdams, 1995). The

other-descriptions of less relationally orientated groups are expected to vary less in relation to social distance than the other-descriptions of more relationally orientated groups (Choi et al., 1999; Fijneman et al., 1996; Triandis, 1995). As current theories and data did not allow for the prediction of the domains in which more (or less) variation is expected, we tested a domain-aspecific hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis 3*: Other-identity varies more with social distance in ethnocultural groups with a stronger explicit relational orientation and collective membership orientation than in ethnocultural groups with a stronger personal orientation and implicit relational orientation.

The valence dimension. Simon (2004) considered valence, which he defined as the "attractiveness of self-aspects" (p. 76), an important aspect for identity construction. It is possible that other-identity also varies in terms of valence (negative, neutral, or positive descriptions). In addition, attribution theory (Mosso, Rabaglietta, Briante, & Ciairano, 2010) and models of self-enhancement (Heine, 2003; Sedikides, Gaertner, & Vevea, 2005) suggest that, when compared to other-descriptions, self-descriptions are based more strongly on positive characteristics. SIT suggests that in order to satisfy the need for positive distinctiveness, individuals who are more proximal to the perceiver and share more in-group characteristics would be viewed more positively (e.g., Turner, 1999). Within the context of this study the valence dimension is defined as the positive, neutral, and negative nature of descriptions. We expected other-identity to show more positive valence for proximal, socially valued individuals than for distal individuals (in other words, individuals who are on the periphery of a person's social network). Stronger differentiation needs can be expected to increase the variability of valence of other-identity. We expect that valence is influenced by the need to balance proximal "assimilation" and distal "differentiation" (Simon, 2004, p. 78). These predicted mechanisms (of more positive valence of other-identity of proximal individuals and more variability in other-identity of distal individuals) are not expected to vary with ethnicity. Therefore, we test the following hypotheses without referring to ethnic differences:

Hypothesis 4: Identity attributed to proximal individuals comprises more positive elements than identity attributed to distal individuals.

Hypothesis 5: Valence is more varied in the identity attributed to distal individuals than in the identity attributed to proximal individuals.

Method

We extracted person-descriptions of others from the qualitative dataset of the South African Personality Inventory[1] (SAPI) project (see Cheung et al., 2011; Nel et al., 2012; Valchev et al., 2011). The main objectives of the SAPI project are the development of an indigenous theoretical model of personality and the development of a personality measure that can be used fairly across all language/ethnocultural groups in South Africa, and that complies with South African labor legislation (Van de Vijver & Rothman, 2004)

Participants

The SAPI project made use of a stratified sampling strategy to obtain samples from the four main ethnocultural groups in South Africa (see Nel et al., 2012, Valchev et al., 2011, and Chapter 4 of this thesis for more details). A total of 1160 participants provided 22,779 descriptions of others across the four ethnocultural groups and the five social distance categories: Black (*n* = 1,014, generating 18,655 descriptions), Coloured (*n* = 23; 616 descriptions), Indian (*n* = 48; 1,389 descriptions), and White (*n* = 75; 2,119 descriptions). The mean age was 32 years (*SD* = 11). There were slightly more females than males in all groups. Group differences in age and gender composition were not significant.

Instrument and Procedure

In the qualitative phase of the SAPI project participants were interviewed in their first language and asked to describe others (parent, friend, grandparent, neighbor, and teacher). Participants were asked to (a) describe others, referring to the kind of person they are; (b) describe typical aspects of the other; (c) describe behaviors and habits characteristic of the other; and (d) describe the other to someone who does not know them. Trained interviewers conducted semi-structured interviews. Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and, where needed, translated into English. Language experts provided quality checks for the data at every step of the process.

Coding Scheme

Descriptions of others were coded based on the coding scheme developed in Chapter 4. Each description was individually coded on all six constituent dimensions. This coding scheme was based on literature relating to the TST (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Del Prado et al., 2007; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) and an iterative process where the lead investigator and the project supervisor discussed proposed schemes based on the data. Each description was coded independently on every dimension and each description was thus assigned six ratings. Table 5.1 provides a detailed explanation of the coding scheme, which included the following dimensions: (a) relational orientation dimension; (b) attribute dimension; (c) situational dimension; (d) ideological dimension (see Chapter 4 for a full description of the coding scheme for these categories); (e) valence dimension (negative valence, e.g., "She degrades other people's children"; neutral valence, e.g., "She has three children"; and positive valence, e.g., "She looks well after her children"); and (f) social distance dimension (placing individuals in proximity to the person describing them). The proximity of individuals were coded using the results generated by Van de Vijver et al. (2006) to rate individuals (others) from proximal to distal in the following order: parent; friend; grandparent; neighbor; and teacher. Four independent coders were trained to code other-descriptions using the self-description codebook developed in Chapter 4. After one month of training, interrater reliability was assessed to evaluate the quality of the coding process by establishing interrater agreement. The coders rated different dimensions of the data in pairs to assess the degree to which they agree. An average interrater agreement of 91% was obtained. When there was disagreement or uncertainly in coding a particular description, coders consulted with each other and confirmed their decision with the lead investigator.

Statistical Analyses

Loglinear analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between ethnocultural group and the four identity dimensions (relational orientation, attribute, situational, and ideological). These analyses allow for a detailed study of associations in contingency tables (Cramer, 2006). A separate analysis was conducted for each identity dimension, as hypotheses involved specific dimensions. Ethnocultural groups and the categories of an identity dimension were the classificatory variables, while cell frequencies were the dependent variables. Main effects of ethnocultural group were not interpreted as they mainly reflect differences in sample size. Main effects of categories mean that some categories were

Table 5.1 *Coding Scheme*

Categories	Definition	Example
Relational Orientation Dimension		
Personal orientation	Individualistic, personal dispositions/traits, states and behaviors that are focused on the target individual	"He is intelligent"
Implicit relational orientation	Relational orientation without a target	"He is friendly"
Explicit relational orientation	Relational orientation with a target	"He helps his friends"
Collective membership orientation	Indicates membership with large or small groups, and roles	"She is a mother" or "He is Venda"
Attribute Dimension		
Preference description	Interests, attitudes and beliefs	"He loves people"
Purpose description	Wants, aspirations and desires	"He wants to do well"
Emotive description	Feelings and emotional states	"He is feeling sad"
Competency description	Skills, abilities and knowledge	"He knows how to solve problems"
Action description	Activities, actions, habits and practices	"He grows vegetables"
Dispositional description	Dispositions, traits, and personal states	"He is quiet"
Virtue description	Personal qualities and virtues	"He has a sense of humor"
Situational Dimension		
No-context specification	Provides no additional information	"He is strict"
General content specification	Qualifying adverbs/adjectives and general, non-specific targets	"She has legs like a bottle"
Conditional and temporal specification	Situational, conditional and temporal indications	"She is sometimes social" or "He hits them if they are lazy"
Context specification	Provides a specific context	"She is strict at church"
Other		
Ideological dimension	Spiritual, ideological, religious beliefs, actions and membership	"She is Christian" or " He likes traditional food" or " She prays"
Valence Dimension		
Negative valence	Negatively attributed behavior	"He beats his children badly"
Neutral valence	No indication of positively or negatively attributed behavior	"He is a father"
Positive valence	Positively attributed behavior	"He gives money to the poor"

more popular than others, and that this popularity is shared across ethnocultural groups. The hypotheses referred mainly to interactions of ethnicity and categories of identity dimensions. This implies that a test with only main effects was expected to show a poor fit. We used the Likelihood Ratio (*LR*) Test to evaluate the fit. A significant value of this test indicates that the interaction component differs from zero. If the interaction was significant, we examined the standardized residuals for each cell in the analysis. This provided an indication of which categories were significantly over- or underrepresented in any particular ethnocultural group.

The need to separate analyses implied multiple tests of the null hypothesis of no association. We controlled for Type I[10] error probability by choosing an alpha level of .01. This was particularly relevant in the study of residuals of interactions. Standardized residuals close to zero indicated that frequencies of other-descriptions would be as expected in a model with only main effects, whereas standardized residuals with absolute values larger than 1.96 (2.58 and 3.29) indicated significant effects at $p < .05$ ($p < .01$ and $p < .001$).

Results

Relational, Attribute, Situational, and Ideological Dimensions

We examined the structure of other-descriptions in terms of the relational orientation dimension (Hypothesis 1; a summary of hypotheses is presented in Table 5.2). We expected relational aspects of other-identity to be least present in the White group and most present in the Black group. We also expected the Coloured and Indian groups to fall between the Black and White groups with respect to relational orientation. A poor fit of the main effects-only model, LR (9, n = 26,040) = 188.48, $p < 001$, confirmed the significance of the interaction between ethnocultural group and relational orientation. In each group the most common responses for all groups were personal orientation descriptions (b = 2.38, $p < .001$) in the relational orientation dimension.

The largest cultural differences in relational orientation were found in the implicit and explicit relational orientation, which are the middle categories of the relationship orientation dimension. The Black group used significantly more explicit relational descriptions when compared to the White group, with the Coloured and Indian groups falling between these two

[10] This empirical chapter has been revised and resubmitted for publication; based on the reviewer comments, we controlled for Type I error in this way in this chapter.

Table 5.2 *Summarized Results of Hypotheses*

Hypotheses	Result	Explanation of Result
Hypothesis 1: Other-identity descriptions proportionally have the most relational references in the Black group and the least in the White group, with the Coloured and Indian groups in the middle.	Supported	Relational orientation clearly places the Black and White groups at the ends of the spectrum, with the Indian and Coloured groups in the middle.
Hypothesis 2: Other-identity descriptions given by individuals from ethnocultural groups with a stronger explicit relational orientation and collective membership orientation have proportionally more situational and ideological and fewer dispositional references than descriptions given by individuals from ethnocultural groups with a more personal orientation and implicit relational orientation.	Partially supported	The Black and White groups are respectively the most and least relational. They also presented the least (Black) and most (White) dispositional descriptions, as well as the most (Black) and least (White) ideological references. The Coloured and Indian groups are in the middle. However, situational specification presented no clear patterning across ethnocultural groups.
Hypothesis 3: Other-identity varies more with social distance in ethnocultural groups with a stronger explicit relational orientation and collective membership orientation than in ethnocultural groups with a stronger personal orientation and implicit relational orientation.	Partially supported	Other-identity varies in terms of the nature of attributes and situations specified across social distance in all groups, not only in more relational groups.
Hypothesis 4: Identity attributed to proximal individuals comprises more positive elements than identity attributed to distal individuals.	Supported	Identity of proximal individuals is described more positively than identity of distal individuals.
Hypothesis 5: Valence is more varied in the identity attributed to distal individuals than in the identity attributed to proximal individuals.	Supported	Distal individuals are described with more variation than proximal individuals.

groups. Implicit relational orientation responses were given most frequently by the White and Coloured groups and least frequently by the Black group. The two extremes of the relational orientation dimension, typically associated with individualism (personal orientation) and

collectivism (group orientation), did not show ethnic differences. Table 5.3 illustrates that personal orientation responses were the most common in all the groups, including the Black group. In contrast, group membership responses had very small frequencies in all groups. Hypothesis 1 was thus supported. However, similar to the findings reported in Chapter 4, ethnocultural groups differed in the middle positions (implicit and explicit orientations) rather than in the extremes typically associated with individualism and collectivism.

We then examined the structure of other-descriptions in terms of the attribute, situational, and ideological dimensions (Hypothesis 2). We expected that ethnocultural groups with a more explicit relational orientation and collective membership orientation would make use of other-identity descriptions that included relatively fewer dispositional descriptions, specified more situational aspects, and made greater use of the ideological dimension. The poor fit of the loglinear model confirmed the interaction between ethnocultural group and each dimension [attribute dimension LR (18, n = 23,536) = 1089.04, $p < .001$; situational dimension: LR (9, n = 26,040) = 66.07, $p < .001$; ideological dimension: LR (3, n = 26,040) = 58.88, $p < .001$]. An inspection of the main effects revealed that dispositional descriptions (b = 3.06, $p < .001$) were the most common descriptions in the attribute dimension, with context-free descriptions (b = 3.88, $p < .001$) without ideological references (b = 3.22, $p < .01$) being used most in all ethnocultural groups.

Standardized residuals (see Table 5.3) indicated that the Black group made greater use of preference descriptions than the other groups, while dispositional descriptions were used more frequently in the White group. The Coloured and Indian groups yielded results between those of the White and Black groups. Although no clear pattern was discernible for the situational dimension, the analyses showed that the Indian group used more general content specification than the other groups. In addition, the ideological dimension was used more often by the Black group than the other ethnocultural groups with the White group making the fewest ideological references. The second hypothesis was therefore supported in terms of the dispositional descriptions and ideological descriptions, but was not conclusively supported by the situational dimension.

Social Distance Dimension

In order to test the third hypothesis, we reduced the number of categories in the situational and attribute dimensions in order to avoid small cell frequencies in the loglinear analyses. We dichotomized the situational dimension that initially considered the condition or situation

specified, such as "he is s*ometimes* kind" (conditional and temporal situational specification) or "she is strict *at home*" (context specification). The new scores reflected the presence (e.g., "He is sometimes kind"; or "She hits children when naughty") or absence (e.g., "She is sweet") of a condition or situation.

Table 5.3 *Proportions (P) and Standardized Residuals (SR) of Relational Orientation Dimension, Attribute Dimension, Situational Dimensions, and Ideological References across Ethnocultural group*

	Black		Coloured		Indian		White	
Categories	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*
Relational Orientation Dimension								
Personal orientation	.37	-0.77	.35	-0.85	.39	1.12	.39	1.87
Implicit relational orientation	.28	**-2.87****	.36	**3.43*****	.30	0.18	.36	**6.46*****
Explicit relational orientation	.32	**4.06*****	.25	**-2.98****	.27	**-2.42***	.21	**-8.46*****
Collective membership orientation	.03	-1.21	.05	1.66	.05	**3.04****	.04	.22
Attribute Dimension								
Preference description	.22	**9.76*****	.07	**-7.12*****	.05	**-12.08*****	.05	**-15.23*****
Purpose description	.02	0.90	.02	-0.72	.02	-1.24	.02	-1.27
Emotive description	.00	0.90	.00	-0.32	.00	-1.80	.00	-1.04
Competency description	.01	-1.51	.01	-0.18	.02	**4.56*****	.01	0.93
Action description	.37	1.04	.45	**3.33*****	.35	-0.77	.31	**-4.34*****
Dispositional description	.36	**-7.43*****	.45	**2.27***	.53	**8.48*****	.58	**13.97*****
Virtue description	.02	**-2.23***	.01	-1.06	.03	**2.41***	.03	**5.27*****
Situational Dimension								
No-context specification	.65	0.20	.65	0.26	.59	**-2.93****	.67	1.64
General content specification	.27	-1.30	.27	-0.05	.35	**5.74*****	.26	-0.77
Conditional and temporal specification	.08	1.70	.07	-0.17	.06	**-2.04***	.06	**-3.31*****
Context specification	.01	0.48	.01	-1.26	.01	-0.65	.01	-0.18
Other Dimension								
No-ideological dimension	.96	-0.57	.98	0.41	.97	0.46	.98	1.10
Ideological dimension	.04	**2.85****	.02	**-2.04***	.03	**-2.29***	.02	**-5.49*****

Note. Significant residuals in bold

$^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

The attribute dimension was also reduced to include only the three most commonly used categories (preference, action, and dispositional descriptions). Loglinear analysis was used to test models that considered higher order interaction effects of ethnocultural group, social distance, and the reduced attribute dimension, and the dichotomized situational dimension.

We wanted to establish whether other-identity would vary more across social distance in ethnocultural groups that presented more explicit and collective membership orientation than in ethnocultural groups that presented more personal orientation and implicit relational orientation (Hypothesis 3). We first examined the relationship between situational dimension, ethnicity, and social distance. A poor model fit, LR (38, n = 26,040) = 932.59, p < 001, indicated a significant interaction effect. Table 5.4 shows that all groups specified fewer situational aspects for the most proximal individuals (parent and friend). Other-identity descriptions of the most distal individuals (teachers) were more situational in the Black and Indian groups than in the White and Coloured groups. There was no clear pattern for descriptions of grandparent and neighbor (middle social distance). Identities of proximal others were described with less situational context, whilst identities of distal others varied with situational context across all ethnocultural groups.

We then examined the relationship between the attribute dimension, ethnicity, and social distance. Again a poor model fit, LR (61, n = 22,332) = 2038.12, p < 001, indicated a significant interaction effect. The results are displayed in Table 5.5 and indicate that across all groups, other-identity is less dispositional and more contextualized in descriptions of more distal (as opposed to more proximal) individuals. In addition, action descriptions were most often used, particularly for describing teachers (distal targets), in the Black and Indian groups. We also found differences in the use of dispositional descriptions. The structure of other-identity in the White group was more dispositional for more proximal individuals (parent, friend, and grandparent), whereas the structure of other-identity in the Black group had more preference descriptions and fewer dispositional descriptions for these individuals. Hypothesis 3 was thus partially supported.

Table 5.4 *Proportions (P) and Standardized Residuals (SR) of Ethnocultural group and Social Distance across the Dichotomized Situational Dimension*

	Parent		Friend		Grandparent		Neighbor		Teacher	
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*
Black										
No-situation specified	.25	**3.61*****	.23	**2.80****	.18	**-2.36***	.13	**2.19***	.20	**-5.51*****
Situation specified	.20	**-6.81*****	.17	**-8.76*****	.20	1.25	.12	-1.03	.31	**14.71*****
Coloured										
No-situation specified	.30	**2.99*****	.26	**2.00***	.20	0.64	.19	**3.87*****	.06	**-7.95*****
Situation specified	.18	**-1.96***	.27	1.58	.21	0.29	.22	**4.30*****	.12	**-3.77*****
Indian										
No-situation specified	.26	0.17	.29	**2.72****	.19	-1.35	.09	**-6.15*****	.20	**-3.22*****
Situation specified	.22	1.07	.18	-.69	.21	**2.78****	.07	-1.29	.30	**6.25*****
White										
No-situation specified	.30	**5.61*****	.30	**7.37*****	.22	**2.91****	.09	**-2.91****	.10	**-10.12*****
Situation specified	.19	**-3.92*****	.24	0.17	.22	0.36	.14	0.64	.22	-1.60

Note. Significant residuals in bold

$^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

Table 5.5 *Proportions (P) and Standardized Residuals (SR) of Ethnocultural group and Social Distance, inclusive of Self-Descriptions, across Reduced Attribute Dimension*

	Self		Parent		Friend		Grandparent		Neighbor		Teacher	
	P	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*
Black												
Preference descriptions	.41	**8.26*****	.28	**8.77*****	.22	**4.99*****	.25	**12.79*****	.10	-0.29	.15	**-5.53*****
Action descriptions	.14	0.11	.20	**-6.05*****	.21	-1.84	.16	**-7.89*****	.13	1.28	.31	**16.55*****
Disposition descriptions	.23	**-6.78*****	.25	**-2.55***	.21	**-6.06*****	.20	**-2.91****	.14	0.75	.21	**-5.24*****
Coloured												
Preference descriptions	.17	**-6.51*****	.26	**-3.38*****	.26	**-3.06****	.26	**-2.66****	.18	-1.80	.04	**-5.08*****
Action descriptions	.20	**3.99*****	.25	1.85	.23	1.77	.17	0.13	.25	**7.90*****	.11	**-3.01****
Disposition descriptions	.37	1.18	.28	**2.62****	.28	**3.27*****	.24	**2.49***	.15	**2.40***	.05	**-5.73*****
Indian												
Preference descriptions	.14	**-5.55*****	.33	**-5.06*****	.12	**-6.06*****	.30	**-4.35*****	.10	**-4.41*****	.10	**-6.72*****
Action descriptions	.10	-1.90	.22	-1.08	.21	-0.60	.19	-0.54	.07	**-3.45*****	.31	**3.75*****
Disposition descriptions	.59	**5.78*****	.26	**5.96*****	.29	**8.89*****	.20	**4.22*****	.07	**-2.01***	.18	1.18
White												
Preference descriptions	.02	**-9.80*****	.25	**-7.26*****	.28	**-6.43*****	.22	**-6.44*****	.13	**-5.10*****	.12	**-8.21*****
Action descriptions	.06	**-4.20*****	.20	**-3.83*****	.26	0.31	.20	-1.65	.13	-0.59	.20	**-2.87****
Disposition descriptions	.80	**11.88*****	.31	**13.27*****	.28	**12.29*****	.24	**9.89*****	.09	0.55	.09	**-5.19*****

Note. Self-descriptions have been added from Chapter 4 for comparison with other-identity descriptions across social distance. This distinction is made clear in the discussion section. Significant residuals in bold

$^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

The Valence Dimension

We examined valence (negative, neutral, and positive descriptions, scored 0, 1, and 2, respectively) across social distance. The identity attributed to proximal individuals was expected to comprise more positive elements (Hypothesis 4). Prior to the analysis, we aggregated individual participant valence scores per target person. This yielded five scores (one for each target person) per participant. We removed participants missing two or more target person descriptions. This resulted in a subsample of 764 participants (66%) from the original 1,160 participants. We then used the linear regression function (with random error added to the regression estimates) to replace missing values. A one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to examine significant differences in mean valence scores (dependent variable) across social distance (independent variable). There was a significant interaction effect between social distance and valence, $F(4, 760) = 183.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .49$. According to Table 5.6, proximal individuals were described more positively than distal individuals were described across all ethnic groups. In addition, the dispersion of valence scores tended to increase with social distance; standard deviations for distal target persons are larger, Hypothesis 4 was supported.

Table 5.6 *Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for the Valence Dimension as a Function of Social Distance*

Target person	*M*	*SD*
Parent	1.58	.44
Friend	1.70	.41
Grandparent	1.49	.53
Neighbor	1.30	.75
Teacher	1.10	.47

Note. Target persons are placed from the most proximal to the most distal in terms of social distance. All means for social distance differ significantly from one another.

Finally, we expected the identity attributed to distal individuals to show more variation than the identity attributed to proximal individuals (Hypothesis 5). We tested this difference in variance by computing the mean valence of the two most proximal (parent and friend) target persons (considered here the pretest), the mean valence of the two most distal (neighbor and teacher) target persons (the posttest) and testing the difference in variability between the pre- and posttest. Statistically, this procedure involves a test of two correlated

variances (Geenen & Van de Vijver, 1993). Higher pretest variance compared to posttest variance would oppose our hypotheses. Firstly, there was a weak correlation between the valence of the most proximal and most distal target persons ($r(764) = .07$, $p = .053$), indicating the independence of proximal and distal valence. Next, the *t* test assessing similarity of variances was highly significant ($t(762) = -9.12$, $p < .001$), indicating that the posttest variance was significantly higher than the pretest variance, Hypothesis 5 was supported. The identity of distal others showed more variation than the identity of proximal others.

Discussion

In this study we tested the validity of a model of the structure of other-identity using dimensions developed in Chapter 4 on self-identity, drawing on literature concerning self-descriptions (Del Prado et al, 2007) and dimensions of collective identity (Ashmore et al., 2004). The constituent elements of other-identity in the model are the same as for self-identity (attributes, relational orientation, situational aspects, and ideology) but also include two additional elements (valence and social distance). We examined the psychological representations of identity derived from the ways in which people describe others using data collected from four South African ethnocultural groups (Black, Coloured, Indian, and White). Other-descriptions provided insight into the implicit structure of attributed identity. Results supported the importance of the constituent dimensions of other-identity in a similar manner as for self-descriptions, and indicated meaningful cross-ethnic similarities and differences. Similar to the findings reported in Chapter 4, context-free intrapersonal descriptions (e.g., "He is intelligent") were most prevalent. The most novel dimensions of the model of other-identity arguably involve relational orientation and social distance. The next sections describe the implications of these dimensions for models of other-identity.

Relational Orientation: Beyond Individualism-Collectivism

Similar to the results of the previous study (Chapter 4), we found no differences in the extreme relational orientation categories, but clear differences in the middle categories. These differences were mainly between the Black (non-Western) and White (Western) groups. The Coloured and Indian groups occupied intermediate positions. At its core, the relational orientation dimension deals with how people relate to others. This dimension cannot be captured in a simple dichotomy. We agree with previous conceptual and empirical critique of the individualism-collectivism dimension (see, for example, Oyserman et al., 2002). In a

similar vein, Brewer and colleagues (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996) found individualism-collectivism to be inexact and inadequate, while Realo et al. (1997) argued that there were at least three distinguishable types of relations within collectivism. The relational orientation dimension emphasizes various social aspects of identity in a broader sense than the simple individualism-collectivism dichotomy. More specifically, the traditional view that the White group is individualistic and the Black group is collectivistic fails to acknowledge that the relevant ethnic differences are better captured by what could be referred to as varieties of collectivism (implicit and explicit relational orientation). Referring to the Black group as collectivistic ignores the fact that individualistic descriptions (i.e., related to dispositions and preferences) are much more common than references to group membership in this group. In a similar fashion, referring to the White group as individualistic does not acknowledge the importance of implicit relational descriptions in this group, which have clear collectivist components. Overall, the results suggest that describing the identity of ethnocultural groups in South Africa as individualistic or collectivistic does not satisfactorily explain their construction of social aspects of their self- and other-identity.

If identity is viewed as a process of negotiation of personhood in terms of personal, social, and contextual aspects (Simon, 2004), then the importance of identifying the interactional properties accounted for by relational orientation is apparent. The content analysis of utterances about the identities of others used in this study strongly suggests that people do not construe identities in terms of a simple dichotomy between self and others or between in-group and out-group. Instead, descriptions of others often refer to a wide variety of relational aspects. We argue that relational orientation allows for a more measured depiction of relational aspects of identity.

In addition, we find that relational orientation is linked to social relational aspects of personality that are salient in non-Western contexts (Cheung et al., 2011; Nel et al., 2012). We consider the links between personality and identity in accordance with the theory of McAdams (1995, 1996). In personality, social relational aspects, such as agreeableness (Big Five; McCrae, & Costa, 2003), interpersonal relatedness (Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory; Cheung et al., 2001), and relationship harmony and soft-heartedness (South African Personality Inventory; Nel et al., 2012) account for basic tendencies of the person. Considering identity as a negotiated process, relational orientation takes into account what the person values most with respect to their relationships.

Social Distance as Moderator

The use of language is crucial in understanding how identity construals vary with social distance. Proximal individuals are usually described more positively than distal individuals. In addition, proximal individuals are described using more personal or abstract (dispositional and preference descriptions) language, including terms such as "intelligent" or "friendly". In contrast, distal individuals are described using more functional or concrete (action descriptions) language, including terms such as "giving" to "animals", "orphans" or "the homeless"'. This finding is contrary to the predictions of S. T Fiske and Cox (1979) and McAdams (1995). We argue that the negative relationship between distance and abstractness is related to the increasing influence of role aspects in relation to social distance.

Social distance has an important influence on the structure of reported other-identity. The movement from more proximal to more distal descriptions of other-identity results in three changes: (a) distal descriptions are more functional and role-linked; (b) distal descriptions involve fewer psychological characteristics; and (c) descriptions of more distal persons involve more actions (and fewer dispositions and preferences). The functional aspects of roles appear to be important for predicting behavior, managing uncertainty, and making sense of the identities of distal individuals (H. Ferguson, 2009).

Ethnicity moderates the role of social distance in other-descriptions. In descriptions of proximal individuals, abstract language in the White, Coloured, and Indian groups mainly took the form of dispositional descriptions, a finding that is similar to the findings regarding self-descriptions reported in the previous study (see Table 5.5, which includes data about self-identity taken from Chapter 4). In addition, this finding is also similar to other findings in studies of self-descriptions in Western cultures (Y. Kashima, Kashima, Kim, & Gelfand, 2006). In the Black group abstract language was more prevalent in preference descriptions (e.g., likes and dislikes) and in the descriptions of proximal individuals. In descriptions of distal individuals, concrete language in the Black and Indian groups was clearly represented by action descriptions. In contrast, the White and Coloured groups indicated less use of abstract language. The increased contextualization in descriptions of the behavior of distal individuals is similar to Choi et al.'s (1999) finding concerning East Asians' attribution of behavior to others. According to Choi et al. (1999) East Asians attributed more contextual behavior to others. It is also evident that the Black group and, to a lesser extent, the Indian group place more emphasis than the White and Coloured groups on the functional aspects related to distal

individuals. Preference and dispositional descriptions seem to be more person-linked than role-linked for proximal individuals. We infer that due to the use of more contextual and less person-linked descriptions, roles become more important in other-identity with increasing social distance of the target person.

Other- and Self-Identity

This study supports the idea that the structure of self- and other-identity is essentially the same. The main similarity is that constituent elements of self-identity are also found in other-identity. The main difference is that other-identity has two additional features: first, other-identity is moderated by valence and social distance and, second, other-identity is generally role specific, and thus more contextually bound. The argument is that self- and other-identity share many similarities and that self-identity can be described as the other-identity of the person closest to us. The way in which we use attributes, relational orientation, situational references, and ideological references is essentially similar for self- and other-identity. In both self- and other-identity the following categories are most salient across the dimensions: (a) the personal orientation, followed by implicit and explicit relational orientation, in the relational orientation dimension; (b) dispositional, action, and preference categories in the attribute dimension; (c) no-context and general content descriptions in the situational dimension; and (d) very little use of ideological descriptions (see Chapter 4 for similar results).

The similarity in structure of self- and other-identity is unsurprising. Although descriptions of the self are known to be susceptible to biases, such as self-enhancement (Heine, 2003; Sedikides et al., 2005), it is unlikely that such biases would alter the structure of identity. Instead, it is more likely that such biases make some attributes, such as desirable characteristics, more likely to be mentioned in self-descriptions. Identity is an interaction process, rooted in negotiations between individuals, and it is thus likely that structural features emerge that apply to all participants.

Limitations and Recommendations

It is possible that the constituent dimensions of identity may be influenced by aspects such as age, gender, SES, personality, and intercultural interaction and it is therefore important that these aspects be studied. The dataset did not allow for an investigation of the influence of these factors on other-identity. However, further inquiry into these individual variables based on the proposed constituent dimensions is recommended. It is also likely that

the intranational acculturation to the multicultural reality in South Africa has had a considerable impact on the identities of different groups. Studies need to be undertaken in order to investigate the ways in which intergroup contact (Hewstone & Swart, 2011), and the relation between languages, and developmental experiences could help in understanding how people relate to each other. Relational orientation may be a good point of departure from which to redefine the cultural categorization of ethnocultural groups in multicultural societies. The construct could provide valuable insight into differentiating between cultures as an expansion of individualism-collectivism. It could also be used as a means for inquiring into the relational aspects of identity that are present across groups.

Conclusion

In this study, we argue that other-descriptions provide additional information about specific differences across ethnocultural group identities in a similar manner to self-descriptions. This study also furthers the validity of the proposed identity model. Although the model is not exhaustive, there is sufficient evidence to support the expectation that the attribute, relational, situational, ideological, valence, and social distance dimensions provide enough information to distinguish between ethnocultural groups. Evidence was found for cross-ethnic similarities and differences that closely link other-identity to self-identity. This evidence suggests that more proximal individuals (as opposed to more distal individuals) are described in a manner that is more similar to self-descriptions.

The construct of identity lies between the social and personal aspects of the individual. Although self- and other-identity have the same basic structure, other-identity is moderated by more factors, notably social distance and the larger variability in valence descriptions. Social distance is particularly important as persons that are more distal tend to be viewed as 'less psychological' and more linked to role-related behaviors than proximal individuals and the self. The complex nature of social contexts means that unknown variables have implications for the evolution of individual and group identities. We argue that we could assess these variables by better understanding the within- and between-group as well as the in-group - out-group differences that may contribute to identity structure (Hornsey & Jetten, 2007; Reid & Deaux, 1996).

Section III

BOURNE SUPREMACY

Chapter 6

Essentially Multicultural, Yet Psychologically Segregated

Byron G. Adams, Gail M. Ferguson, Fons. J. R. Van de Vijver, J. Alewyn Nel

Submitted

Essentially Multicultural, Yet Psychologically Segregated*

South Africa is a multicultural non-Western society that provides a unique opportunity for the critical evaluation and comparison of Western theories and perspectives. Since the end of *apartheid* (institutionalized segregation), which saw the emancipation of non-Western groups (91% of the total population), there has been a strong national drive towards transformation. While this transformation is primarily focused on promoting the economic advancement of individuals from non-Western groups, it is also aimed at endorsing positive intergroup relations. It is hoped that these positive relationships will help individuals develop identities that are permeable rather than rigid, thus resulting in the extension of group boundaries. Approximately twenty years after the abolition of *apartheid*, the country is still largely segregated and the process of transformation has been slow, tedious, and somewhat frustrating. This study made use of models of identity developed in Western contexts (North-American and Western European) to study associations between identity, group orientation, and psychological well-being in South Africa.

Identity

Identity is that which makes a person both unique and distinguishable from others, as well as that which makes them similar to others (B. G. Adams & Crafford, 2012; Munday, 2006). It provides individuals with the psychological and social mechanisms to establish awareness about themselves in relation to their social context in order to construct meaning about themselves (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1992). Identity consists of two interrelated dimensions, the personal dimension (intrapersonal characteristics) and the social dimension (connectedness or commitment to social groups; Deaux, 1993), which account for different features of individual functioning (Ashmore et al., 2004). Personal identity can only be understood when social aspects of identity are also considered (Reid & Deaux, 1996), and it is thus regrettable that personal and social identity dimensions are seldom studied together (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2009; see also Chapter 3 of this thesis).

Personal identity relates to the goals, values, and beliefs an individual develops that are clear, consistent, and in line with their individual aspirations and their intrapersonal self-concept (Dovidio et al., 2001). It relies on psychological aspects of human functioning that are

* This chapter is based on: Adams, B. G., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Ferguson, G. M., & Nel, J. A. (2013). Still psychologically segregated: Identity, group orientation and well-being among Black and White South Africans. Manuscript submitted for review

important for self-definition and that impact on psychosocial functioning (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010). As an identity dimension, personal identity is particularly important for individuals in individualistic groups, where the emphasis is on individual needs and motives. Thus, this form of identity is often studied in mainstream Western populations (Phinney, 2000).

Social identity relates to a sense of belonging to self-identified in-groups (Dovidio et al., 2001). This study considered two aspects of social identity, namely ethnic and religious identities, to be of importance for collectivistic groups. These aspects of identity are often studied in non-Western populations or in non-dominant, minority, or immigrant Western populations (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Phinney, 2000; Verkuyten, 2005). Ethnic identity relates to: (a) cultural characteristics such as norms, values, attitudes, and typical behaviors; (b) knowledge, beliefs, and expectations people develop about their ethnic groups; and (c) feelings people have about their membership to a particular ethnic group (Phinney et al., 2001). Religious identity relates to an individual's identification as a member of a particular religious group. Like ethnic identity, religious identity is norm based. Religious identity relies strongly on incorporating certain practices, beliefs, and values that serve to guide an individual's moral and concrete decision-making (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009).

Identity and Group Orientation

SIT and SCT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1999) emphasize the relationship between identity and intergroup contact, intergroup identification, and intergroup relationships (Allport, 1954). According to these theoretical frameworks, identity provides individuals with the psychological mechanisms to negotiate and establish personal and social boundaries, which in turn inform their group orientation. Group orientation is the extent to which individuals identify, make contact, and participate with in-group or out-group members (G. M. Ferguson & Adams, 2013; G. M. Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; G. M. Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). The literature is in agreement regarding the importance of in-group orientation for identity, notably for personal and social aspects of identity (Dovidio et al., 2005). However, the literature contains conflicting perspectives regarding the relationship between identity and out-group members, three of which are discussed in this study. The first two perspectives, individualism-collectivism cultural orientation and the group social status perspective, pertain to identity and group orientation. In the third perspective, the link between positive distinctiveness, optimal distinctiveness, and threat theory, specifically considers the association between in-group and out-group orientation.

According to the first perspective, the individualism-collectivism cultural value orientation (Hofstede, 2001), individuals from individualistic cultural groups emphasize their autonomy, have an internal locus of control, and display intrinsically driven behavior. In collectivistic cultural groups, individuals emphasize their group membership, have an external locus of control, and display behavior driven by group norms and values (Triandis, 2001). With respect to identity, in individualistic cultures, personal identity is more salient than in collectivistic cultures. Members of individualistic cultures tend to make less definite, more permeable in-group – out-group distinctions. For members of collectivistic cultures, social identity is more salient, and these individuals have more clear-cut in-group – out-group boundaries (Triandis, 1995). Therefore, individuals from individualistic cultures would make contact with out-group members more readily than individuals from collectivistic cultural groups, who are more likely to separate and distinguish themselves from out-group members.

A combination of several perspectives from SIT and SCT were taken into account for the second and contrasting perspective. The primary focus of this perspective is on group social status. It considers whether groups are dominant (majority, mainstream) or non-dominant (minority, immigrant) in their context (Verkuyten, 2005, 2008, 2011). Social Dominance Theory (SDT; Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto, 1992) is one such perspective derived from SIT . According to SDT, individuals from dominant groups are relatively less inclined than individuals from non-dominant groups to be open to out-group members. Therefore, dominant group members are argued to have a strong need to separate themselves from the out-group. This also relates to positive distinctiveness, which suggests that individuals are prone to distinguish themselves and their in-groups positively from others and out-groups (Turner, 1999). Thus, because individuals view aspects of their social identity (which are based on their group norms, values, and behaviors) positively and as an extension of their self-conception (personal identity) they believe that their (in-group) identity should not to be contaminated by other (out-group) identity (Verkuyten, 2011).

This perspective is also related to Integrated Threat Theory (ITT; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duram, 2000), particularly the notions of realistic and symbolic threat. Realistic threat occurs when in-group members consider their jobs, status, and economic livelihood to be threatened by the out-group. In contrast, symbolic threat occurs when in-group members believe that out-group members are a threat to their culture, values and identities (Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Individuals from dominant groups may feel that out-

group members threaten their values, culture, livelihood, and beliefs. This would result in more salience of social identity aspects for these groups, as well as simultaneously differentiating oneself and one's group on from out-group members. In contrast, individuals from non-dominant groups tend to be more open to intergroup contact if they experience aspects of their social identity (e.g., culture, ethnicity, and religion) as more salient (Verkuyten, 2005, 2008). This may be because their livelihood and economic well-being often relies on contact with out-group members.

There is also a third perspective that extends the in-group and out-group orientation discussion. According to Brewer (1999), a positive in-group orientation is independent of out-group orientation. This is because identity boundaries are defined in accordance with an individual's personal need to belong to, or to be different from, other individuals or groups, even their own in-group (optimal distinctiveness). In combination with positive distinctiveness (Turner, 1999), this theory holds that groups would not automatically evaluate out-group members negatively, even if they distinguish themselves positively. In-group and out-group evaluations would only be negatively related when groups experience threat to their culture and identities and/or are in direct competition with one another for the same resources (ITT; Stephan et al., 2000). These groups (threatened groups) are likely to evaluate out-group members in a less positive and more directly comparative manner. This would result in a weak or negative relationship between in-group and out-group orientations (Yagmur & Van de Vijver, 2012).

Identity, group orientation, and psychological well-being. Identity is also important for psychological well-being (Roberts et al., 1999). There is empirical evidence for the association between well-being and personal identity (Abu-Rayya, 2006a; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010) and social identity dimensions (Abu-Rayya, 2006b; Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Phinney, 2000; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). The relationship between identity and psychological well-being is particularly important in multicultural contexts, especially where the identity of individuals from certain groups is threatened. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that although individuals from non-dominant groups whose identities are threatened may experience lower psychological well-being when compared to dominant groups (Dovidio et al., 2005; Verkuyten, 2008) their identities serve as a buffer against feelings of discrimination (T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011; Verkuyten, 2005). Rejection from the dominant out-group leads individuals from non-dominant groups to identify more with

their own in-group (Rejection-Identification Model, RIM; Branscombe et al., 1999), which ultimately enhances psychological well-being. Although it is not currently possible to stipulate a causal relationship between identity and group orientation, we expect these two constructs to be associated to each other, as well as to psychological well-being.

The Multicultural South African Context

South Africa provides unique features that allow for the investigation of these Western theoretical perspectives. As a nation state, South Africa has been multicultural since its formation. It consists of four major ethnocultural groups, usually referred to as Black, Coloured (from mixed ethnocultural descent), Indian, and White. It has the largest European (White) and Indian populations in sub-Saharan Africa (CIA, 2011). This study focused on the Black and White groups, as these groups are the most polarized ethnocultural groups in South Africa (see Gibson, 2006; as well as Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis). The Black group, which consists of various ethnolinguistic groups, is currently the political majority (with a population of 79.2%). The White group (8.9%), which comprises Afrikaans- and English-speaking descendants of Caucasian European migrants, remains in control of much of the economy, although a small Black elite has recently emerged. According to the recent South African Census (StatsSA, 2012), there are still major socioeconomic differences between these two groups. For example, the average income of individuals in the Black group is approximately 17% of that of the White group, and official unemployment rates are 35.6% for Black South Africans and 5.9% for White South Africans.

Unlike many Western contexts, where numerical dominance is often synonymous with economic, cultural, and political dominance, no single group in South Africa is numerically, politically, economically, and culturally dominant. The largest cultural group in South Africa, the Zulu speaking portion of the Black group, comprises only 28.1% of the population (StasSA, 2012). However, due to their high SES the White group is still largely considered the dominant group as they dominate much of the economic sector and their values (Western, individualistic values) still largely inform organizational culture (Dumont & van Lill, 2009).

Ethnicity and religion served as the main factors during *apartheid* for systematically segregating ethnocultural groups while simultaneously promoting and maintaining internal group cohesion (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010; Kriel, 2010). We argue that ethnic and religious identity, in combination with personal identity, capture salient aspects of identity within the South African context as these aspects of identity played a significant role in segregating South

African society. The identities of Black (also Coloured, and Indian; all three groups are considered collectivistic) and White (individualistic; see Eaton & Louw, 2000) South Africans still develop within the confines of their respective cultural contexts. The segregated nature of society is therefore not conducive to allowing individuals to establish intergroup contact.

Although interactions amongst individuals from different groups have become more frequent since the transition to democracy in 1994 (Netshitenzhe & Chikane, 2003), contact is still hindered by social, political, and economic segregation. There are still large cultural distances between groups (Dixon, Durrhein, & Tredoux, 2007; Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood, Nuñez, & Finchilescu, 2005). Research suggests that, especially for older individuals and adults, interaction and contact between groups take place out of necessity rather than choice (Nhlapo, 2009; Walker, 2005) and are largely limited to formal public domains such as school, university, and work. However, amongst adolescents and younger individuals these interactions are extending to more informal, private domains, such as home, sports teams, and social events (parties and bars). However, despite this, there is ongoing segregation reported at universities in post-*apartheid* South Africa (Finchilescu et al., 2006; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009).

Black and White South Africans' views of South African society are very different, due to their perceptions of the out-group. White South Africans consider members of the Black group to constitute a single large out-group; whereas Black South Africans, who often use their own ethnolinguistic group membership as a point of reference, tend to distinguish out-group members at a similar level (e.g., as Ndebele, White-English). Thus, White South Africans generally construe out-group members as largely homogenous and different from their own in-group. In contrast, Black South Africans distinguish between out-group members who are both similar and different to them. For White South Africans the Black group, which constitutes the numerical and political majority, appears largely homogenous and poses an eminent threat to their economic and cultural well-being. For Black South Africans, White South Africans form part of an already heterogeneous cultural landscape and thus pose very little cultural threat. However, due to the persistent socioeconomic inequality Black South Africans may view White South Africans as threatening to their economic well-being.

Black South Africans' more nuanced construal of the out-group makes it relatively easy for individuals from this group to navigate the plethora of cultures in South Africa, moving with ease between their traditional cultural values and the established Western standards. In contrast, White individuals often aim to preserve their heritage due to the fear of losing their

identity. This difference is evident in the use and knowledge of language by the two groups. Where Black South Africans often speak, and may have a passive knowledge of several official languages (including at least one or both West-Germanic languages: English and Afrikaans), White South Africans often only speak one or both West-Germanic (or other European) languages, and have very little or no knowledge of the indigenous Bantu languages. This allows Black individuals broader cultural access than their White counterparts.

This Study

Much of the research on identity and intergroup relations originates from Western (North American and Eastern European) contexts. Within these contexts identity and intergroup relations are mainly studied in majority mainstream (Western) groups and minority immigrant (non-Western) groups. More research is needed concerning different groups in multicultural societies in order to explore the relationship between identity and group orientation within these contexts. This is particularly important in regions such as Africa, where there are often no clear mainstream groups or, if there is a mainstream group, the mainstream group is non-Western. In multicultural contexts such as South Africa, where different groups are often in competition for the same resources (Schalk-Soekar, 2007), identity may serve as a powerful psychological mechanism that influences how individuals relate to out-group members.

According to the individualism-collectivism value orientations perspective (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995), personal identity is more important in individualistic Western groups and social identity is more important in collectivistic non-Western groups. For the purposes of this study, this means that we expected White South Africans (considered both more individualistic and Western) to present higher means for personal identity than Black South Africans (considered both more collectivistic and non-Western; Hypothesis 1a). We also expected that Black South Africans would present higher means for social identity dimensions than White South Africans (Hypothesis 1b). In addition, with respect to group orientations we expected that White South Africans would make contact with out-group members more readily than Black South Africans, who would be more likely to separate and distinguish themselves from out-group members (Hypothesis 2a).

The study also considered the group social distance perspective stemming from SDT (Sidanius et al., 1992). In the socioeconomic structural reality of South Africa (e.g., inequalities in income and employment; Dumont & van Lill, 2009), White South Africans are considered

the dominant group in terms of social status, with Black South Africans the non-dominant group. Our expectation was that White South Africans would present higher means for social identity dimensions than Black South Africans (Hypothesis 1c), and that Black South Africans would be more oriented to out-groups than White South Africans, who would be more oriented towards the in-group (Hypothesis 2b).

Finally, in terms of positive distinctiveness, optimal distinctiveness, and ITT (Stephan et al., 2000), this study investigated how South Africans view out-group members. South Africans often define themselves as belonging to specific (small) ethnolinguistic groups (e.g., Zulu or White Afrikaners), which establishes ethnic heterogeneity. This level of nuance is generally more pronounced in the Black group (see above) than in the White group. Although Black and White South Africans both experience some form of threat, the White group perceives this threat as coming from a much larger homogeneous out-group (the 91% out-group members), whereas the Black group perceives it to come from more distinct out-groups (the 5.3% White Afrikaners or 19.8% Xhosas; StatsSA, 2012). The White group may thus experience a greater sense of threat then the Black group. We expected that in-group and out-group orientations would be negatively correlated for both Black and White South Africans, but that these correlations would be significantly different, with Black South Africans presenting a weaker negative correlation than White South Africans (Hypothesis 2c).

Moreover, identity and cultural integration are important for psychological well-being in multicultural societies (Ashmore et al, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005, 2008, 2011) and we postulated that this would be no different in South Africa. Literature suggests that personal and social identity dimensions precede group orientation and influence the way in which individuals engage with both their own and different cultural groups (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, & Wong, 2002). However, the literature also suggests that identity is a negotiated process between self, other, and the context (Munday, 2006; Verkuyten, 2005). Therefore, how individuals are socialized to be orientated to their in-group and out-group members would have an obvious impact on their identity development (Brewer & Pierce, 2005). We therefore expected that group orientation would influence identification as much as identity would influence group orientation and thus refrained from stipulating a causal relationship between identity and group orientation. However, we did expect identity dimensions and group orientation to be correlated and to serve as antecedents for psychological well-being in both groups (Hypothesis 3).

Method

Participants and Procedure

Data were collected in South Africa from undergraduate students at two public universities, one in the Gauteng Province and the other in the North West Province. The sample consisted of 635 participants (62% females, M_{age} = 20.24 years, *SD* = 1.87), and consisted of both Black (*n* = 260, 67% females, M_{age} = 20.04 years, *SD* = 2.10) and White (*n* = 375, 58.7% females, M_{age} = 20.33 years, *SD* = 1.38) South Africans.

Measures

Sociodemographic questionnaire. Participants provided their age, gender, and the highest level of education of the person responsible for paying household bills (used to ascertain SES). Chi-square analysis indicated significantly more White females ($\chi^2(1, N = 636) = 4.60$, $p = .032$), and analyses of variance (ANOVAs) indicated that White participants had higher SES, $F(1, 634) = 11.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. There was no significant age difference between the groups.

Identity. Participants completed an adapted version of the identity subscale from the Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory (EPSI; Rosenthal et al., 1981), which measures personal identity. Participants also completed two scales that measure social identity dimensions, namely the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), which measures ethnic identity, and the Religious Identity Scale Short version (RISS; see Chapter 3), which measures religious identity.

Personal Identity. The EPSI subscale is unidimensional and has 12 items, *rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not applicable to me) to 5 (Always* applicable to me). The following items were reversed scored: 1, 3, 7, 10, 11, and 12. Items include "I change my opinion of myself a lot" and "I know what kind of person I am".

Ethnic Identity. The MEIM has 12 items, rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly agree*). The measure has two subscales: Ethnic Identity Exploration measures sense of exploration with five items (e.g., "In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group"). Ethnic Identity Belonging measures sense of belonging with seven items (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group").

Religious Identity. The RISS is a unidimensional scale with six items rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not applicable to me*) to 5 (*Always applicable to me*). The six items

measure how individuals feel about their religious views. Items include "I perceive myself as a member of my religious community" and "My religious beliefs will remain stable".

Group orientation. Participants completed the Acculturation Rating Scale for South Africans (ARSSA; G. M. Ferguson & Adams, 2013). The scale measures the multidimensional nature of group orientation in terms of behavioral and identity-related aspects (cf. G. M. Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). The ARSSA consists of 68 items, rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*None or not at all*) to 5 (*Very much or always*). This study was only interested in measuring the orientation of South Africans towards different South African groups, and therefore 20 items were removed from the scale. These items were removed because they measure orientation to ethnocultural groups in the United States and relate to remote acculturation (See G. M. Ferguson & Adams, 2013). The remaining 48 items refer to participants' orientation towards the four major South African ethnocultural groups as well as their general language usage.

We used principal component analysis to confirm the unidimensional structure of the five subscales that measure intergroup group orientations. The first four subscales each have 11 items that measure contact, participation, associations, and identification with each of the four major ethnocultural groups in South Africa. The items in each of the subscales are similar but refer to different ethnocultural groups: (a) The Black South African Orientation Subscale (BSAOS; e.g., "I associate with Black/African South Africans"); (b) the Coloured South African Orientation Subscale (CSAOS; e.g., "I associate with Coloured South Africans"); (c) the Indian South African Orientation Subscale (ISAOS; e.g., "I associate with Indian South Africans"); and (d) the White South African Orientation Subscale (WSAOS; e.g., "I associate with White South Africans"). The final subscale is (e) the General Language Usage Subscale (GLUS). This subscale has 4 items that measure preference of language usage in verbal and written communication (e.g., "I write (letters, emails, and other correspondence) in my home language").

***In-group and out-group orientations*.** We used the five subscales of the ARSSA to compute an in-group and out-group orientations for each participant. The score for the in-group orientation for Black individuals comprised the mean scores of the BSAOS and GLUS, and for White individuals it comprised the means scores of the WSAOS and GLUS. The out-group orientation comprised the mean scores of the remaining orientations for each group; for example for Black individuals, the mean scores from the CSAOS, ISAOS, and WSAOS were

used to indicate out-group orientation. Measurement invariance was not computed for group orientation as different target groups were used to measure in-group and out-group orientations.

Table 6.1 *Scale Reliabilities and Structural Equivalence across Ethnocultural Groups*

	Items	Black Group Cronbach's α	White Group Cronbach's α	Tucker's phi
Identity				
Personal Identity	12	.77	.80	.98
Ethnic Identity Exploration	5	.71	.71	.93
Ethnic Identity Belonging	7	.87	.87	.97
Religious Identity	6	.91	.93	1.00
Group Orientation				
General Language Usage Scale	4	.66	.67	-
Black South African Orientation Scale	11	.70	.77	-
Coloured South African Orientation Scale	11	.78	.81	-
Indian South African Orientation Scale	11	.73	.79	-
White South African Orientation Scale	11	.74	.74	-
Psychological Well-being				
Life Satisfaction	6	.75	.81	1.00
Poor Mental Health	12	.87	.87	.99

Note. Measurement invariance not calculated for Group orientation scales as different target groups were used to measure in-group and out-group orientations

Psychological well-being. Participants completed the Brief Multidimensional Student Life Satisfaction Scale (BMSLSS; Huebner et al., 2006) that measures life satisfaction, and the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12; Goldberg, 1972) that measures general psychological health.

Life Satisfaction. This BMSLSS is unidimensional and has six items rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Terrible*) to 7 (*Delighted*). The six items measure life satisfaction in five different domains and at a global level (Huebner et al., 2006). Items include "I would describe my satisfaction with my family life as" and "I would describe my satisfaction with myself as".

Poor Mental Health. The GHQ-12 is unidimensional with 12 items. The measure was developed for screening minor psychiatric disturbance while assessing the changes in affective and somatic symptoms related to general levels of health (Goldberg, 1972). Participants are asked to consider the previous four weeks, and to rate their feelings towards items on a 4-point Likert scale. Items include, "Been able to concentrate on what you're doing", which is rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Better than usual*) to 4 (*Much less than usual*) and "Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person" rated from 1 (*Not at all*) to 4 (*Much more than usual*). Higher scores are associated with poorer mental health.

The internal consistencies and measurement invariance (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997) of all scales are reported in Table 6.1. The psychometric properties of all measures were sound and revealed good reliability coefficients and measurement invariance.

Results

Table 6.2 *Ethnocultural Group Mean Differences for Identity, Intergroup Orientation, and Psychological Well-Being*

	Black Group *M(SE)*	White Group *M(SE)*	Ethnocultural Group *F(1, 635)*	η_p^2
Identity				
Personal Identity	4.03(.04)	3.97(.03)	1.75	.00
Ethnic Identity Exploration	2.65(.03)	2.77(.03)	6.98**	.01
Ethnic Identity Belonging	3.12(.04)	3.23(.03)	6.43*	.01
Religious Identity	3.67(.07)	3.72(.06)	0.39	.00
Group Orientation				
In-group Orientation	3.78(.03)	4.56(.02)	489.80***	.44
Out-group Orientation	1.94(.03)	1.77(.02)	22.59***	.04

Note. Black Group n = 260, White Group n = 375.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Group Differences in Identity and Group Orientation

We conducted a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with ethnocultural group and gender as independent variables (having excluded SES and age as covariates). Personal identity, ethnic identity belonging, ethnic identity exploration, religious identity, and in-group and out-group orientations were dependent variables. The multivariate effects were significant for ethnocultural group (Wilks' Λ = .538, $F(6, 627) = 89.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .46$) and

gender (Wilks' Λ = .966, $F(6, 627) = 3.71$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$). Table 6.2 presents the means and standard errors for Black and White groups as well as the univariate results.

There was a significant difference for religious identity with respect to gender ($F(1, 635) = 12.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$), with females having a more salient religious identity. This is in line with previous research that found females to be generally more committed and active in religious domains than males (see Chapter 3). Across the two ethnocultural groups, we found no significant difference in personal identity for individuals from the Black and White groups, which does not support Hypothesis 1a. For both groups personal identity was reasonably salient. The White group had significantly higher means for ethnic identity exploration and ethnic identity belonging than the Black group. This result does not support Hypothesis 1b, but partially supports Hypothesis 1c. We found that both groups presented high means for in-group orientation and low means for out-group orientation. However, the White group had significantly higher means for in-group orientation than the Black group, while the Black group had significantly higher means for out-group orientation than the White group. This result does not support Hypothesis 2a, but supports Hypothesis 2b. These results are in keeping with social dominance theory. Although both groups show a strong focus on their own ethnicity, the dominant (i.e., more affluent White) group is more closed to out-group members than the non-dominant (i.e., less affluent Black) group.

Table 6.3 *Fit Statistics for Multigroup MIMIC Model*

Model	χ^2/df	AGFI	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
Unconstrained	4.41^{***}	.88	.81	.97	.07	-	-
Measurement weights	4.19^{***}	.89	.82	.96	.07	1.99	1
Structural weights	*3.11^{***}*	*.92*	*.88*	*.96*	*.06*	*6.85*	*6*
Structural covariances	3.15^{***}	.92	.88	.92	.06	66.68^{***}	21
Structural residuals	3.08^{***}	.92	.88	.92	.06	0.57	1
Measurement residuals	3.70^{***}	.90	.85	.89	.07	31.63^{***}	2

AGFI = Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index; TLI = Tucker–Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation. Most restrictive model with a good fit is in italics.

$^{***}p < .001$.

Identity, Group Orientation, and Psychological Well-being

We tested a multigroup Multiple Indicators Multiple Causes (MIMIC; Joreskog & Goldberger, 1975) model in which personal and social dimensions of identity, in-group, and out-group orientations served as antecedents to psychological well-being (Hypothesis 3). The MIMIC model also allowed us to assess the relationship between in-group and out-group orientation (Hypothesis 2c).

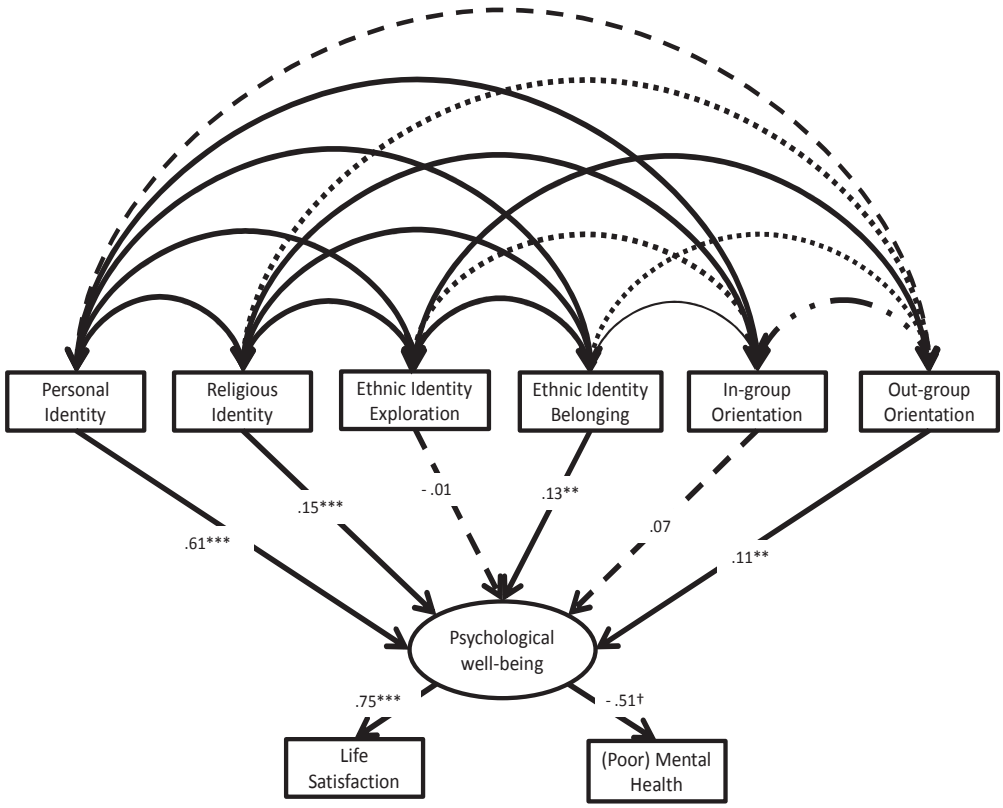

Figure 6.1 Estimated standardized parameters for MIMIC model

Note. Regression means for the two groups are presented. For correlations: the solid lines indicate positive correlations; the thinner solid line indicates positive correlations in both groups but significantly higher in the Black group than in the White group. The dashed line indicates no correlations; the double dotted-dashed line indicates a significantly negative correlation in the White group (non-significant in the Black group). The dotted lines indicate significantly positive correlations in the Black group (non-significant in the White group (Table 6.4).

**p < .01. ***p < .001. †Fixed at a value of -1 in the unstandardized model.

Table 6.4 *Intercorrelations of Identity Dimensions and Group-Orientation as in the MIMIC Model*

	Black Group					White Group				
Scales	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Identity Dimensions										
1. Personal Identity	-					-				
2. Religious Identity	.29***	-				.22***	-			
3. Ethnic Identity Exploration	.16*	.26***	-			.02	.21***	-		
4. Ethnic Identity Belonging	.16***	.25***	.64***	-		.20***	.22***	.64***	-	
Group Orientations										
5. In-Group Orientation	.13*	.14*	.31***	.39***	-	.24***	.23***	.06	.15**	-
6. Out-Group Orientation	.10	.16*	.29***	.24***	.09	-.01	-.07	.16***	-.06	-.20***

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

We tested a model in which all constraints were set as equal for both groups. Analyses revealed that the structural weights model was the most parsimonious model (see Table 6.3), with an excellent fit, $\chi^2(17, N = 635) = 52.94$, $p < .001$, $\chi^2/df = 3.11$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). We found that life-satisfaction and poor mental health were good indicators of psychological well-being (see Figure 1). Personal identity was the most important predictor of psychological well-being, followed by religious identity, ethnic identity belonging, and out-group orientation. Ethnic identity exploration and in-group orientation were not good predictors of psychological well-being.

As can be seen in Figure 6.1, we found that most correlations were positively related for both Black and White groups, thus personal and social dimensions of identity were related. In addition, personal identity, religious identity, and ethnic identity exploration were all related to in-group orientation. In both groups, personal identity was unrelated to out-group orientation. Four covariances provided an indication of significant differences between groups. There were four main correlational (Table 6.4) differences between the Black and White groups. Firstly, ethnic identity belonging and out-group orientation ($|\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df| = 3.02$, $p = .004$, $|\Delta CFI| = 0.013$) and secondly, ethnic identity exploration and in-group orientation ($|\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df| = 2.73$, $p = .008$, $|\Delta CFI| = 0.011$) were significant for the Black group ($r = .24$, $p < .001$ and $r = .31$, $p < .001$). Both these relationships were non-significant for the White group ($r = -.06$, $p < .225$ and $r = .06$, $p < .241$). Thirdly, the correlation between ethnic identity belonging and in-group orientation ($|\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df| = 2.96$, $p = .004$, $|\Delta CFI| = 0.013$) was significantly positive for both groups but higher in the Black group ($r = .39$, $p < .001$) than in the White group ($r = .15$, $p = .003$). Finally, the correlation of in-group orientation and out-group orientation ($|\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df| = 2.66$, $p = .009$, $|\Delta CFI| = 0.011$) was negative and significant for the White group ($r = -.20$, $p < .001$) and non-significant for the Black group ($r = .09$, $p = .145$). This last result partially supported Hypothesis 2c, as there was independence of in-group and out-group orientation for the Black group, and a negative correlation for the White group. As a whole, the MIMIC Model partially supported Hypothesis 3.

Discussion

In this study we made use of theories and perspectives developed in Western (North American and Western European) contexts to examine: (a) how identity and group orientation may differ; and (b) how personal and social identity dimensions, orientations towards in-group

and out-group members, and their associations with each other and with psychological well-being may be similar for Black and White South Africans. We argued that the multicultural, non-Western South African context allows for the critical evaluation and comparison of these theories and perspectives in a manner that would not be possible elsewhere.

Identity and Group Orientation

We found that the arguments regarding identity and group orientation do not hold in South Africa in relation to the individualistic-collectivistic value orientations (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995). The theory suggests that personal identity is salient in Western individualistic contexts while social identity is salient in non-Western collectivistic contexts. Currently, research suggests that White South Africans (a Western group) subscribe to individualistic value structures and that Black South Africans (a non-Western group) subscribe to more traditional and collectivistic value structures (Eaton & Louw, 2000). However, we found that the White group emphasized their social identity, particularly their ethnic identity, more than the Black group. In addition, the individualistic White group was less willing to make contact with out-group members than the Black group. It is possible that the blurred boundaries considered typical of individualistic groups in previous research only exist when these groups constitute the numerical majority (as is the case in most studies of individualism-collectivism; Oyserman et al., 2002).

The combination of group social status used in this study, which drew on SDT (Sidanius et al., 1992) and ITT (Stephan et al., 2000), provided more accurate theoretical predictions for the South African context. While it was clear that individuals evaluated their own group more positively than other groups (as can be expected in terms of positive distinctiveness; Turner, 1999), individuals from the White group distinguished themselves more clearly from out-group members. This may be because although the White group is economically dominant (Dumont & van Lill, 2009) they perceive themselves as being under economic and cultural threat due to the '*Swart gevaar'* or black danger (Posel, 2001) that originates from a large homogenous Black out-group. White in-group orientation is thus negatively related to their out-group orientation. The White group can no longer take their economic dominance, which they consider crucial for their survival and well-being, for granted. During *apartheid*, their ethnocentrism and religious conservatism promoted institutionalized segregation, which was designed to protect this group. However, the current South African context may have contributed towards enhanced in-group cohesion amongst White South Africans. As the

deposed mainstream group, they have more to lose from an integrated society, and would therefore oppose multiculturalism more than the other groups (particularly the Black group), who benefit from increasing national inclusivity (see Schalk-Soekar, 2007). The profile of the White group is characteristic of both dominant Western groups who want to protect their social status, and minority groups who want to protect their threatened identities and interests (Verkuyten, 2005).

The picture is very different for Black South Africans, who appear to view out-groups more heterogeneously, and who generally find it easier to move between traditional cultural values and established Western values (often on a daily basis). The Black group, as the political and numeric majority, no longer experiences threat towards their identity, as they experienced during *apartheid*. However, this group continues to be the economic minority and may need to seek out contact with out-group members to survive and thrive. Making contact with other South African groups (particularly the high-status White group) is pertinent to their economic viability and enhancing their social status (Mohololа, 2007). Establishing cross-ethnocultural relationships and friendships may increase the status of Black individuals, while threatening the status of White individuals. This is in line with research in Western contexts, where immigrant and minority groups need to adapt to the mainstream or dominant cultural groups (Rodriguez et al., 2010). Black individuals may have less to lose and more to gain in a culturally integrated South African society, and therefore may seek a higher degree of integration compared to White individuals (S. A. Norris et al., 2008).

Identity, Group Orientation, and Psychological Well-being

Our model also confirmed that the South African context provides some complexities not always present in Western contexts. The study found that the underlying structures in terms of identity, group orientation, and psychological well-being seem similar for Black and White South Africans. We found confirmation that personal and social dimensions of identity were interrelated (Deaux, 1993) and associated with psychological well-being. This finding adds to previous theoretical and empirical work that shows a positive relationship between identity dimensions and psychological well-being (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Ashmore et al., 2004; Roberts et al., 1999; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). Although ethnic identity exploration does not seem to be a predictor of well-being, this study supports the hypothesis that ethnic identity exploration is strongly and positively associated with ethnic identity belonging (Marcia, 1966). Our study found that, although research suggests that

religious and ethnic dimensions are particularly important for psychological functioning in a multicultural context (T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011; Verkuyten, 2008), within the South African context personal identity is more important for well-being than social identity dimensions. This is also evident in the high means of both groups on personal identity, suggesting that personal goals, values, and beliefs are more important for psychological functioning (Dovidio et al., 2005; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010) for both the Black and White groups in this multicultural context (Phinney, 2000) than ethnic and religious group norms, values, and beliefs.

Out-group orientation seems important for well-being, while in-group orientation is unimportant for well-being. This finding confirms the importance of contact with out-group members for psychological well-being in multicultural contexts (Verkuyten, 2008, 2011). In addition, as expected social identity dimensions (more so than personal identity) are crucial for understanding how individuals may be oriented towards out-group members (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Verkuyten 2005). However, this relationship seems particularly complex in this plural non-Western society. The relationships between (a) in-group and out-group orientations (negative for the White group, non-significant for the Black group), and (b) ethnic identity belonging and out-group orientation (positive for the Black group and non-significant for the White group) suggest that White individuals are slightly more ethnocentric (see also high means for in-group orientation and low means for out-group orientation for the White group, Table 6.2). However, this finding is not conclusive. The relationships between ethnic identity belonging and in-group orientation (positive in both groups but significantly higher in the Black group), provides alternative information, suggesting that Black individuals may also be ethnocentric. The first finding is in line with the assumption that the Black group is the non-dominant group (Gibson, 2006; Verkuyten, 2005), and the White group is the dominant group (Phinney, 2000; Verkuyten, 2011). However, the second finding brings into question the straightforwardness of these assumptions, particularly due to the complexity of the context that impacts on the nature of the relationship between identity and intergroup relations.

Theoretical Implications

While the results suggest that group social status and ITT, in addition to other theoretical perspectives, may provide some accurate considerations for the South African context, it is important to realize that these theories do not provide a conclusive sketch of the underlying psychological structures that inform the segregated nature of the context. We

would argue that these perspectives require some extension or modification in order to account for the complexity present in the South African context, where there is no clear mainstream or majority group, and where economic dominance is not automatically associated with majority status. The complexity of the society lends itself to more in-depth analysis of identity issues and group relations than is possible in Western societies. It is important to consider ways in which to account for distinct groups in the same context, specifically when these groups could be psychologically defined as both dominant (majority/mainstream) and non-dominant (minority/immigrant) from a Western perspective.

As different groups are in competition with each other for the same resources, further inquiry into barriers of cross-cultural contact (Pettigrew, 1998) and threat (Nhlapo, 2009; Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006) are needed in non-Western multicultural contexts such as South Africa. A better understanding of such barriers may have implications for the national transformation strategy in South Africa that would drive integration in such contexts. Ideally, individuals need to (re)define their cultural boundaries to endorse multiculturalism, thus allowing them to appreciate and respect other cultural groups (Gibson, 2006; Guan et al., 2011) and make real contact with and participate with out-group members. More practically, interventions are needed that would enhance stakeholder participation towards establishing a more inclusive identity (S. A. Norris et al., 2008). Facilitating inter-ethnic contacts in the private sphere could reduce prejudice.

Limitations and Recommendations

The importance of context for identity, relations, identification, and interaction with out-groups, and psychological functioning in multicultural contexts, and the impact of segregation on South Africans' current ethnocultural homogeneity and economic disproportionality, cannot be ignored (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Nhlapo, 2009). Interaction between individuals from different groups seems hindered and complex. These groups find each other so different that there is very little opportunity to establish intimate interpersonal relationships (Nhlapo, 2009). They may therefore be able to relate to each other in formal settings like school and work, but not in intimate (non-sexual) settings such as at home. We would argue that although increasing favorable intergroup contact would be important and beneficial in the long term for reducing prejudice and fostering good group relations (Allport, 1954; Finchilescu et al., 2006), it is not enough. Future studies may therefore need to address

the persistent misconceptions South Africans may have about out-group members (Nhlapo, 2009).

Furthermore, due to sample constraints, we were unable to consider all ethnocultural groups in South Africa in this study. We recommend that future studies examine a more demographically representative sample, which also includes Coloured and Indian groups. We further recommend that participants in future studies be asked to provide ethnic, racial, and religious labels using their own terms (Phinney, 1992). The ethnocultural categories used here are based on *apartheid* categories, and future studies could probe their relevance in the current South African context. We suspect that as individuals in the South African society develop, these categories may become irrelevant, particularly to the new generation, who may choose to move either towards a more inclusive social identity, such as either 'South African' or 'African', or possibly towards a more restrictive ethnolinguistic identity, such as identifying themselves as either 'Xhosa' or 'Zulu'. Either way, future research should use this information to gain insight into how differences across self-identified individuals and groups are associated with intergroup boundaries and psychological well-being.

In conclusion, the unique multicultural nature of South Africa allowed us to disentangle associations between identity, group orientation, and psychological well-being. Our study suggests that these associations are particularly complex in plural non-Western contexts. We found that personal identity is more important for well-being, whilst social identity seems more important for intergroup relations. This finding supports our argument that there is a need for more integration in the study of personal and social identity dimensions. More longitudinal inquiry into this relationship is needed to allow for a more developmental perspective. In addition, the importance of national identity as a contributor to group orientation and intergroup relations should also be considered in future inquiry in this context. This would help establish those aspects important for conceptualizing an inclusive or integrated national 'Rainbow nation' identity and the way in which national identification would relate to group boundaries and psychological well-being.

Chapter 7

Intrapersonal and Interpersonal Aspects that Define Us

Byron G. Adams, Fons. J. R. Van de Vijver, J. Alewyn Nel, Luzelle Naude, Florance Tadi, Johann Louw, Sumaya Laher, Joey H. Buitendach, Lerato M. Makhale

In Preparation

Intrapersonal and Interpersonal Aspects that Define Us*

This study investigates how individuals negotiate their identity through intrapersonal and interpersonal considerations. It stems from previous research concerning free descriptions of self- and other-identity from which we developed a model of identity, which identified several constituent dimensions (see Chapters 4 and 5). This study used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to investigate personal, relational, and social aspects of identity in South Africa and the Netherlands, as well as the factors that inform relationships with others for identity across cultures. We considered three broad research questions. Firstly, categories of relational orientation in self-descriptions (measured qualitatively) and sources of identification in a self-report measure (measured quantitatively) are theoretically related, as sources of identification originate from our conceptualization of relational orientation categories. We aimed to investigate whether these different measures could provide similar information (methodological triangulation; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) about identity. Secondly, we considered individuals' relational schemas (Baldwin, 1997) in order to examine how individuals define themselves through their interpersonal relationships. We asked whether certain factors associated with interpersonal relationships would help us make sense of how important interpersonal relationships are for identity across cultures. Finally, we asked how sources of identification are related to personal and social identity dimensions.

In order to answer the above questions, we asked individuals to describe themselves (self-descriptions) and respond to several self-report measures on sources of identification, as well as personal and social identity. In addition, to make sense of how relationships may be important for their identities, we asked them to describe their relationships with several others. The introduction begins by defining identity, related dimensions, and identity across cultures. We then present relational orientation and sources of identification, followed by a discussion of the four factors that we consider important for deconstructing relationships: (a) social distance; (b) relationship valence; (c) nature of relationships; and (d) directionality of relationship influence. We conclude this section with an overview of the present research and the hypotheses.

* This chapter is based on: Adams, B. G., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Nel, J. A., Naude, L., Tadi, F., Louw, J., Laher, S., & Makhale, L. M., (2013). Comparing implicit and explicit Expressions of intra- and interpersonal aspects of identity in plural societies. Manuscript in preparation.

Identity

Identity is the process of defining the self within the collectivity in which the self exists (Josselson, 2012; Stryker 2007). 'Who and what we are' is negotiated within the personal, relational, social, and contextual spaces we occupy (Ashmore et al., 2004; Deaux, 1993; Dovidio et al., 2005; Josselson, 2012). Identity is negotiated between the individual's intrapersonal and interpersonal spaces. This study considered two dimensions of identity, namely personal and social identity. In the personal identity dimension individual characteristics, such as traits, abilities, and skills, are important for defining the self (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010). In the social identity dimension, individuals are defined in relation to the groups to which they belong, such as ethnic or religious groups (Ashmore et al., 2004). Although both dimensions contribute towards an individual's coherent sense of self, in different cultural contexts the individual emphasizes different dimensions of identity.

Culture and Identity: How the Self is Defined across Cultures

Hofstede's (2001) individualism-collectivism value orientation has provided the basis for understanding cross-cultural differences in identity (P. B. Smith, 2011). This value orientation is defined as the individual's perception of self, their relation to others, and the ideals that most influence their behavior (Fischer et al., 2009). The individualism-collectivism value orientation is associated with self-construal (independence-interdependence), which relates to individual's perceptions about the self as either distinct from others or in relation to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1998), as well as agency-communion (McAdams, 1995), where "agency considers individual goal-pursuit, and communion considers others" (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007, p. 751). Identity is argued to be informed by values that are either individualistic (independent, agentic) or collectivistic (interdependent, communal).

Within the individualistic value structures, the primary focus is on goals and values that promote the individual's autonomous sense of self. Individuals from within collectivistic value structures prioritize group membership, goals, and values above their own goals and values (Oyserman et al., 2002). Theory suggests that personal identity is more important for individualists and social identity more important for collectivists (Phinney, 2000; P. B. Smith, 2011). Individuals of Western (European and North American) descent are considered more individualistic, while individuals from non-Western (African, Asian, and Middle Eastern) descent are considered more collectivistic. However, individualism-collectivism and related concepts are mainly Western conceptions and have shown limited value in explaining cross-

cultural differences in non-Western contexts (see Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 6). These conceptualizations may benefit from non-Western conceptualizations of the "self-other" association. We present two such perspectives from Southern Africa and Eastern Asia.

Working from an East Asian perspective, Ho (1991) considered relational orientation, which he compared with the Western conceptualization of individualism. He defined relational orientation as the importance of relational contexts for social behavior, accounting for the individual's embeddedness within a social network, and the centrality of relational outcomes. Within this conceptualization, the self is defined as both central to, and intertwined with, relational aspects and the social context (Ho, 1991). This notion is best illustrated by the Japanese view of the self-concept. Within this framework, the self is understood: (a) as central to personal being – *Jibun;* (b) within the immediate reference group which may be generally construed as significant others – *Mawari*; (c) with relation to the generalized other, such as the group or collective – *Hito;* and (d) in relation to humanity or the world – *Seken* (Kuwayma, 1983).

Secondly, the Southern African philosophy of *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu,* usually shortened to the word *ubuntu,* means that 'I am a person through other people'. This African perspective speaks to the interconnected nature of humanity (Nussbaum, 2003). Ubuntu emphasizes the individual as an interrelated being, and focuses on the strong bonds between the self and society in general. Every person is connected to and dependent on others, and it is through this interdependence that we define or learn to define ourselves. Within *ubuntu* the role of others in defining a coherent identity is crucial, as a sense of community takes precedence over the individual and is important for the notion of personhood.

Relational orientation as a constituent dimension of identity. Relational orientation, which was developed in South Africa independent of Ho's (1991) earlier conceptualization, is a constituent dimension of identity (see Chapters 4 and 5). Similar to Ho's (1991) concept, relational orientation from the Southern African context refers to the relational part of identity and is defined as the perceived importance individuals or groups attach to personal, relational, and/or social aspects of their identity. Relational orientation was coded using four categories. Personal orientation, where the abstract personal self is presented (e.g., "I am intelligent"). Implicit relational orientation, where the general relational self, without a target person is presented (e.g., "I am social"). Explicit relational orientation, where a more detailed relational self, with a target person is presented (e.g., "I am kind to friends"). Collective

membership orientation, where the self is presented as a member of a specific group (e.g., "I am Black"; see Chapters 4 and 5).

The primary argument for relational orientation (see Chapters 4 and 5) was that the introduction of this conceptualization relaxes the dichotomous cultural-level value orientation of individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995). Personal orientation is similar to individualism, and collective membership orientation is similar to collectivism. The first extension, implicit relational orientation, accounts for the humanitarian, altruistic nature of relationships, where the individual is presented by dispositions of a relational nature, which may be associated with individual's ability to invest within the larger societal structures (Fijneman et al., 1996; also see Chapter 4 of this thesis;). This concept is similar to S. H. Schwartz's (1999; see also S. H. Schwartz & Boehnke, 2005) universalism value within the self-transcendence dimension, The second extension, explicit relational orientation, accounts for the relational self in a manner similar to that of Brewer and Gardner's (1996, see also Brewer & Chen, 2007) trichotomous model of self-representation. Brewer and Gardner (1996) considered two distinct facets within collectivism (Hofstede, 2001), with the relational self-concept taking into account relationships with close others (Andersen & Chen, 2002).

In Chapters 4 and 5, we found that implicit and explicit relational orientations accounted for the largest cross-cultural differences in self-, and other-descriptions. White (Western) South Africans used implicit relational orientation, while Black (non-Western) South Africans used explicit relational orientation. In addition, personal orientation (individualistic) descriptions were the most often used self-descriptions for all South African ethnocultural groups. These are similar to those reported by other studies concerning self-descriptive measures (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Del Prado et al., 2007), and are in accordance with the individual self-primacy hypothesis. The individual self-primacy hypothesis states that personal aspects (e.g., traits, abilities, and attributes) of personhood are more important for self-definition than social aspects (e.g., interpersonal relationships and group membership; Gaertner, Sedikedes, Vevea, & Iuzzini, 2002).

Relational orientation categories and sources of identification. We reconceptualized the categories of relational orientation **(**a constituent dimension of identity in free self- and other-descriptions) as relational orientation-sources of identification (hereafter only sources of identification). We define sources of identification as the intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects that inform individual identity. There are four domains of sources of identification

related to the relational orientation categories. The first domain, personal sources of identification (theoretically related to the personal orientation category), comprises the personal self. In this domain, individuals primarily focus on their internal processes and personal goal achievement for defining themselves. Significant other sources of identification (theoretically related to the explicit relational orientation category), the second domain, comprises the relational self. In this domain, individuals focus on how relationships with those closest to them (e.g., family and friends) are important for defining themselves. The third domain, in-group sources of identification (theoretically related to the collective group membership category), is where individuals focus on the in-group's (e.g., cultural group membership) interests and their membership to this group as important for defining themselves. Finally, humanitarian sources of identification (theoretically related to the implicit relational orientation category), the fourth domain, is where individuals focus on their communal relational self and considers society with an altruistic agenda. The latter three sources and their corresponding categories in relational orientation are referred to as 'broader relational aspects' as they encapsulate aspects not related to individuals' personal self-conceptions.

We expected sources of identification to present similar results to those of relational orientation in previous chapters (Chapters 4 and 5). We therefore investigated whether humanitarian sources of identification would be more salient in Western groups and significant other sources of identification would be more salient in non-Western groups. We also investigated the salience of personal sources of identification across all groups. In addition, our conceptualization of sources of identification assumed that the individual draws on autonomous, relational, social, and humanitarian aspects to negotiate their identity. Sources of identification consider the individual's needs, motives, and desires that would allow them to be unique and distinguish themselves from others and simultaneously relate to others and belong to social groups (Brewer 1991; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012; Kagitcibasi, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Factors in Interpersonal Relationships that Inform Identity across Cultures

Relating to others is important for who we are and how we define ourselves. In the model used in this study relating to others accounts for three of the four categories in both the relational orientation constituent dimension and sources of identification. As we encounter others, we create meaning about them, they create meaning about us, and

together we create meaning about the world (Berzonsky, 2004). These meanings become crucial for our self-definitions. In addition to our investigation of relational orientation, we also investigate how relationships inform identity. The relational self provides a good theoretical basis for understanding the role of relationships in self-definitions. The relational self is defined as a social cognitive process whereby identity is constructed through relationships with significant others (e.g., friends or parents; Andersen & Chen, 2002; Chen et al., 2006). The relational self is related to relational schemas that comprise (a) the self, (b) the other, and (c) the narratives incorporated in this self-other relationship (Baldwin, 1997). Individuals draw on their knowledge of relationships with others to inform their identities.

The importance of relationships for identity is therefore present in the relational schemas that inform the relational self. Within these theoretical perspectives, relationships are limited to the 'self-significant other' network. In this study we extended this network to include relationships with others not considered as 'significant others' in order to aid our understanding of how interpersonal relationships may be associated with identity across different cultural groups. We identified four factors associated with interpersonal relationships that have a bearing on how people relate to others across Western and non-Western groups. These factors are (a) social distance, (b) relationship valence, (c) the nature of relationships, and (d) directionality of relationship influence.

Social distance, the first factor, stems from the individualism-collectivism cultural value orientation perspective (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995). It refers to the distinctions individuals make regarding in-groups and out-groups (Odell, Korgen, & Wang, 2005). Social distance is the experienced relative emotional and psychological distance of self to others (Georgas, Berry, Van de Vijver, Kagitcibasi, & Poortinga, 2006; Kocan & Curtis, 2009; see also Chapter 5 of this thesis). From the individualism-collectivism cultural value orientation perspective, Western groups distinguish less between proximal and distal others and are more consistent in their dealings with others. In contrast, non-Western groups differentiate more easily between proximal and distal others. This results in more variation in how non-Western individuals deal with others, based on their proximity to the other. Non-Western groups therefore place more psychological distance between themselves (and proximal others) and (distal) others than Western groups (Triandis, 1995)

The second factor, closely linked to social distance, is relationship valence. It stems from the positive distinctiveness concept found in SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1989) and SCT (Turner,

1999). Here, individuals often distinguish and evaluate themselves and proximal others more positively than distal others (R. Brown, 2000; also see Chapter 5 and 6). Relationship valence accounts for the positive or negative evaluations individuals make about the value of their relationships for their identities. The positive evaluation of proximal others compared to distal others is universal. However, as individuals from non-Western groups make greater distinctions between in-group and out-group members compared Western groups (Triandis, 1995), proximal others in non-Western groups are expected to have a more positive influence on individual identity than distal others when compared to proximal and distal others in Western groups.

Nature of relationships, the third factor, considers the substantive characteristics of relationships. Drawing from a social cognitive perspective of identity construction, in which the individual's experience allows them to construct meaning about themselves and their realities (Berzonsky, 2004), the nature of relationships may also be associated with individualism-collectivism value orientations (Hofstede, 2001). Socioeconomic aspects, such as affluence, are related to these value orientations and therefore groups that are more individualistic and affluent focus more on psychological outcomes in their relationships where collectivistic, often less affluent, groups focus more on utilitarian outcomes in their relationships (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2013; Georgas et al., 2006). These outcomes would be prevalent in how an individual's experience of their relationships would aid them in constructing their identities. Identifying with others would result in psychological outcomes captured in affective, behavioral, and cognitive aspects (Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012; see also Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) and utilitarian outcomes such as physical resources and economic support (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2013).

The final factor concerns directionality of relationship influence. This factor refers to the vertical or horizontal influence of relationships on identity. Here, we considered Hofstede's (2001) power distance cultural value orientation and S. H. Schwartz's (1999) hierarchy-egalitarianism value distinction. These perspectives prescribe that horizontal influence is more common in secular Western societies, in contrast to vertical influence in traditional non-Western societies (Realo et al., 1997), even when accounting for individualism-collectivism value orientations. A study conducted by Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, and Gelfand (1995), which investigated the combination of power distance (horizontal and vertical) and individualism-collectivism, found that relationships in collectivistic groups essentially

remained vertical, while relationships in individualistic groups remained horizontal. Thus, social distance as conceptualized by the individualism-collectivism perspective becomes a non-issue in this factor. Western groups are more egalitarian (horizontal influence) than non-Western groups, who are more hierarchical (vertical influence). Therefore, in terms of our expectations regarding the way in which power distance (hierarchy and egalitarianism) influence identity, we expected a more collaborative, horizontal influence in the relationships of Western groups, and a more one-directional, vertical influence in the relationships of non-Western groups.

In addition, we considered relationships with elders and peers. Marcia (1983) postulated that secure attachment to significant others (parents and peers) would allow individuals to explore and develop identities safely (see also Meeus, Oosterwegel, & Vollenergh, 2002). There are hierarchies in relationships with elders, parents, and guardians. Older kin often act within the capacity of certain roles when rearing children, which allows the transference of certain values, beliefs, and knowledge such as the maintenance of cultural identity and traditions (Phinney et al., 2001). This is bolstered by the fact that the parent-child relationship authority comes into play (Collins, Laursen, Mortensen, Leubker, & Ferreira, 1997). In the context of limited empirical research concerning peer-relationships and identity (Meeus, et al., 2002), we argued that in peer relationships identity may be negotiated in a collaborative space, particularly in friendships or partnerships where relationships are freely chosen. Within the context of these relationships, we assumed the presence of equality. We investigated whether our assumptions hold irrespective of group membership, and whether relationships with elders are more hierarchical, while relationships with peers are more egalitarian.

The Present Research

The present study extended on the previous work reported in Chapters 4 and 5 by investigating identity in two ways. Firstly, we examined how the self is defined through self-descriptions (categories of relational orientation as a constituent dimension of identity) and self-report measures (relational orientation as sources of identification). Secondly, we examined how the self is defined through interpersonal relationships. Finally, we tested the assumption that sources of identification are associated with personal and social identity dimensions. This research involved two studies, each taking place in a very distinct multicultural context. The first study (Study 1) considered South Africa, the non-Western

context where the relational orientation concept was developed. The second study (Study 2) took place in the Netherlands, a Western multicultural context. In the second study, we hoped to generalize our initial findings from the first and previous studies (Chapters 4 and 5 with respect to relational orientation) to a Western multicultural context.

We started by considering the convergence of relational orientation categories in free self-descriptions (measured qualitatively) with sources of identification in a self-report measure (measured quantitatively; Research Question 1). Previous studies have found poor convergence (Del Prado et al., 2007; Grace & Cramer, 2003; E. S. Kashima & Hardie, 2000) between qualitative and quantitative measures of the self-concept and identity. However, Del Prado et al. (2007) emphasized the need to use multiple methods of assessing the self-concept and identity. They argued that the lack of convergence is due to these measures assessing very distinct aspects of identity, both of which are important for understanding identity. In our primary conceptualization of relational orientation as measured by free self- and other-descriptions (Chapters 4 and 5), it accounted for the degree to which groups were either more or less relational. Sources of identification (which stem from the categories of relational orientation) account for how individuals engage consciously and unconsciously in defining themselves. They therefore account for individuals' distinctiveness and belongingness (Brewer, 1991).

We therefore considered the extent to which these two distinct measurement modes would provide us with similar information about different cultural groups (methodological triangulation, see Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). We assessed whether relational orientation categories, as expressed in self-descriptions, and sources of identification, as expressed in self-report measures, are similar. This assessment was based on previous findings of relational orientation discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the individual self-primacy hypothesis (Gaertner et al., 2002), and individualism-collectivism value orientations (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995). We tested the following hypotheses:

With respect to relational orientation in self-descriptions:

Hypothesis 1α: Personal orientation is more salient in self-descriptions than other categories at group and sample level.

Hypothesis 2a: Implicit relational orientations are more salient in Western groups than non-Western groups, while explicit relational orientations are more salient in non-Western groups than Western groups.

With respect to sources of identification:
Hypothesis 1b: Personal sources are more salient than other sources at group and sample level.

Hypothesis 2b: Humanitarian sources of identification are more salient in Western groups than non-Western groups, while significant other and in-group sources of identification are more salient in non-Western groups than Western groups

In addition, we also examined interpersonal relationships in relation to individual identity by considering free relationship descriptions with proximal and distal others (Research Question 2). Individuals draw from their relational schemas (Baldwin, 1997) and we therefore considered the roles others play in shaping individuals' identity (Andersen & Chen, 2002). Drawing from theoretical perspectives that inform social distance, relationship valence, nature of relationships, and directionality of relationship influence, we had the following expectations about how relationships differ across Western and non-Western groups within a particular context.

Hypothesis 3 – Social distance: In Western groups, there is a relatively small social distance between the influences of proximal and distal others on identity (3a; denoting the first part of Hypothesis 3) compared to non-Western groups; where there is a relatively large social distance between the influences of proximal and distal others on identity (Hypothesis 3b).

Hypothesis 4 – Relationship valence: In Western groups, there is little difference in valence between proximal and distal others for identity (Hypothesis 4a) compared to non-Western groups, where relationships with proximal others have a more positive influence on identity than relationships with distal others (Hypothesis 4b).

Hypothesis 5 – Nature of relationships: In Western groups relationships with others (proximal or distal) have a more psychological influence on identity (Hypothesis 5a) compared to non-Western groups, where relationships with others (proximal or distal) have both a psychological and utilitarian influence on identity (Hypothesis 5b).

Hypothesis 6 – Directionality of relationship influence: In Western groups relationships with others (proximal and distal) and peers have a more horizontal influence and relationships with elders a more vertical influence on identity (Hypothesis 6a), whereas in non-Western groups relationships with others (proximal and distal) and elders have a more vertical influence and relationships with peers a more horizontal influence on identity (Hypothesis 6b).

Finally, we were interested in the association between sources of identification and personal and social identity dimensions (Research Question 3). In the development of their identities, individuals become aware of themselves, their intra-individual characteristics, how they relate to others, and their space within the context in which they find themselves (Phinney, 2000). Individuals are constantly in the process of defining themselves by emphasizing their personal attributes, thus making themselves distinct from others, and engaging in interpersonal relationships, thus seeking membership in social groups and defining their space in broader society (Brewer 1991; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012; Kagitcibasi, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; S. H. Schwartz, 1999; Triandis, 1995). Our expectation was that a latent sources of identification factor, indicated by personal, significant other, in-group and humanitarian sources of identification, would be predictive of a latent identity factor indicated by personal and social (ethnic and religious) identity dimensions. We tested the model in Figure 7.1 (Hypothesis 7).

Study 1: South Africa

South Africa is a multicultural country, with a long history of segregation and discrimination. There are four main ethnocultural groups, namely Black (79.4% of the population), Coloured (mixed race – 8.8%), Indian (2.6%), and White (9.2%; StatsSA, 2012). The first three groups are non-Western while the last group is considered Western. The White group, although a numerical minority group, is affluent and dominant group. The Black group

is the least affluent group, but is politically dominant and the numerical majority group. The Coloured and Indian groups are situated culturally and economically in the middle (between the Black and White groups). South African groups are generally heterogeneous and could also be distinguished at an ethnolinguistic level. There are nine Bantu speaking Black groups. The White and Coloured groups speak West-Germanic languages, and the Indian group speaks predominantly English. These groups remain culturally, socially, politically, and economically segregated (see Chapters 4, 5, and 6 for an extended discussion regarding this context).

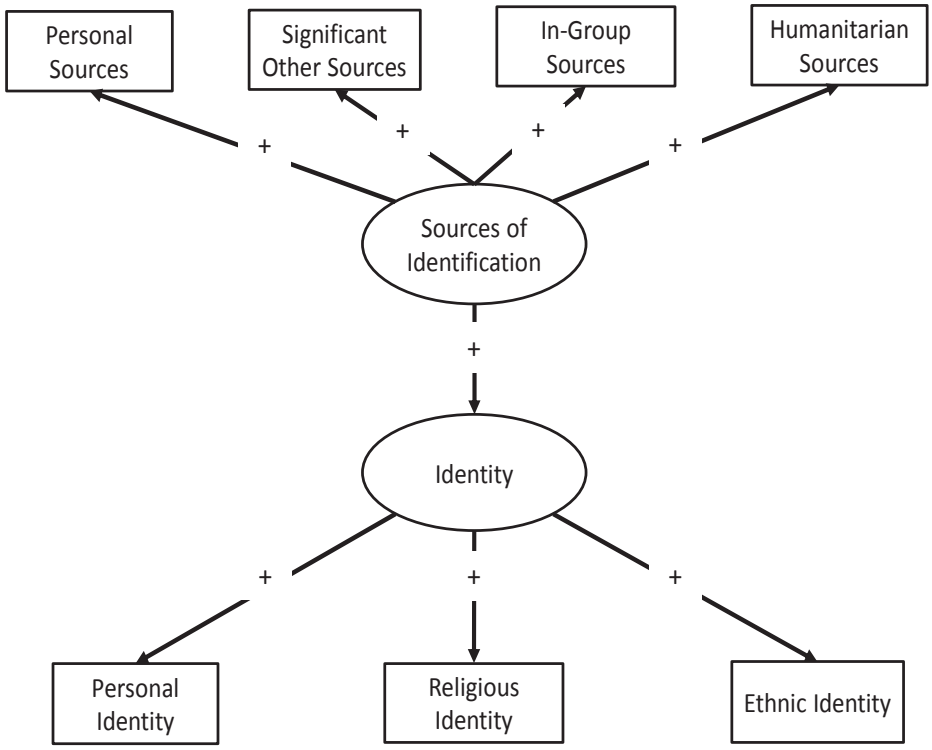

Figure 7.1 Conceptual model of relationship between self-descriptions, and self-report measures of sources of identification and identity

Method

Participants. In this study the sample consisted of 1134 students (75.08% females, M_{age} = 20.03 years, *SD* = 2.37) from the Black (*n* = 360), Coloured (*n* = 109), Indian (*n* = 62), and White (*n* = 603) groups. Table 7.1 provides a breakdown of descriptive statistics per group.

Data from 102 students were excluded because they did not provide ethnocultural group membership (n = 15), or they provided insufficient data (n = 18; < 75% items complete), or they were born outside of South Africa (n = 69).

Procedure. Data for this study were collected as part of a larger project on identity, personality, culture, and well-being taking place at several South African universities. We obtained ethical clearance from participating universities, and data collection complied with the standards of each university's Internal Review Board. Participants completed either an online or a hard copy version of a questionnaire in English. Completion of the entire questionnaire took between 45 and 120 minutes. In some cases participants completed open-ended questions in Afrikaans, which were then translated into English with the use of Google translate (http://translate.google.com/) and checked by the primary investigator. Several research interns entered the data completed on hard copies onto excel spreadsheets. They also checked the quality of the entered data.

Measures. Participants completed several qualitative and quantitative measures. We used multigroup CFA to assess the measurement invariance for the sources of identification and identity scales. The CFA allowed us to check for configural (similar structure), metric (identical measurement weights across groups), and scalar (identical measurement intercepts) invariance. All measures presented good configural, measurement, and scalar invariance in most cases. Where we obtained partial scalar invariance we calculated partial eta-squares to establish the difference between full and partial scale means, both before and after omitting the 'biased' items. There were no real violations on observed differences before and after omitting 'biased' items. We therefore assumed full scalar invariance and retained all items (see Chapters 2 and 3). Psychometric properties were considered sound, with the measures generally presenting good internal consistencies and measurement equivalence (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997)

***Sociodemographic questionnaire*.** Participants provided sociodemographic information, such as age, gender, and highest level of parental education (we computed the average number of educated years for both parents to ascertain SES). Across groups, chi-square analysis indicated significant differences for gender, $\chi^2(3, N = 1{,}134) = 12.12$, $p < .01$, with the White group containing the most females. Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) indicated significant differences for age [$F(3, 1124) = 6.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$] and parental education

[$F(3, 1124) = 52.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$] with White and Indian youth being younger as well as their parents being more educated.

Table 7.1 *Sample Descriptive Statistics for South African Sample*

			SES
	Mean Age (*SD*)	Gender (Female %)	Mean Parental Education (*SD*)
Black	20.45(2.68)	77.28	12.29(2.97)
Coloured	20.04(2.95)	84.55	12.40(2.51)
Indian	19.42(1.61)	80.65	13.57(1.94)
White	19.85(2.09)	71.52	14.08(1.72)

Note. SES = Socioeconomic Status. Parental education was used as a proxy for SES.

Self-descriptions. The Twenty-Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1957) was adapted to request ten free self-descriptions. This question considers implicit expression of the self-concept (P. B. Smith, 2011; see Chapters 4 and 5) where individuals can freely describe aspects that are important for who they are (Del Prado et al., 2007). Participants could emphasize their personal characteristics, their likes, dislikes, and values.

Relationships with others. Participants were asked to describe relationships with ten different individuals, either proximal (best friend, father, grandfather, grandmother, partner, mother, and sibling) or distal (high school teacher, neighbor, and classmate they least liked). They were asked to describe how their relationships with these persons characterize them and why these relationships are important to them. They could also leave spaces blank if they did not have a relationship with any of the target persons listed.

Social distance. We developed a social distance scale consisting of various subscales measuring feelings of proximity towards (a) people they may know (e.g., "parent"), (b) people with different educational levels (e.g., "people who are unschooled"), (c) different cultural groups (e.g., "The Afrikaans White group"), (d) religious groups (e.g., "Islam/Muslim"), and (e) relative wealth status (e.g., "poor people"). The responses were rated using a 15-point Likert scale with response anchors ranging from 1 (*Very Close*) to 15 (*Very Distant*). The use of a 15-point anchor was due to two subscales containing nine and thirteen items respectively. We wanted to maintain the same response anchors across social distance subscales and increase variability (Hui & Triandis, 1989). We calculated a social distance score for each subscale by

subtracting the in-group score (minimum score or the mean score for kin – from the 'people you may know' scale) from the total score.

Sources of Identification Scale. This Sources of Identification Scale (SOIS; see Table 7.2) has 40 items, rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 *(Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). The scale comprises four subscales with 10 items each. These subscales are: (a) Personal Sources of Identification (e.g., "I am a unique individual"), measuring intra-individual aspects related to identification; (b) Significant Other Sources of Identification (e.g., "I can count on the people close to me if I were in financial trouble"), measuring the influence of friends and family close to the individual on identity; (c) In-Group Sources of Identification (e.g., "When people in my group are happy, I am happy"), measuring the influence of the collective or group to which the individual belongs on their identity; and (d) Humanitarian Sources of Identification (e.g., "I enjoy sharing things"), measuring altruistic perspectives of identification related to humanity. Cronbach's α values for the Black group were between .75 and .88 with a mean of .82; for the Coloured group between .80 and .89, with a mean of .86; for the Indian group between .82 and .89 with a mean of .84; and for the White group between .78 and .90 with a mean of .87.

Personal Identity. We adapted the identity subscale of the Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory (EPSI; Rosenthal, Gurney, & Moore, 1981). This subscale measures personal identity. It is a unidmensional scale with 12 items, rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). The following items were reversed scored: 1, 3, 7, 10, 11, and 12. Items include "I change my opinion of myself a lot" and "I know what kind of person I am". Cronbach's α values were for the Black group .83, for the Coloured group .86, for the Indian group .84, and for the White group .86.

Religious Identity. The Short Religious Identity Scale (RISS; see Chapter 3) measures religious identity. It is a unidimensional scale with six items rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). The six items measure how individuals feel about religion. Items include "I perceive myself as a member of my religious community" and "My religious beliefs will remain stable". Cronbach's α values for the Black group were .90, for the Coloured group .92, for the Indian group .95, and for the White group .94.

Table 7.2 *Sources of Identification Scale (SOIS) Items*

Personal Sources	
1.	I am a person with my own will
2.	My personal opinion is very important to me
3.	I live my life independently of others
4.	I do my own thing
5.	I am a unique
6.	I am successful because of my abilities
7.	I am responsible for my decisions
8.	I solve difficult problems I experience in my own way
9.	Who I am as a person is very important to me
10.	I enjoy doing things for myself
Significant Other Sources	
11.	My personal happiness is dependent on the happiness of the people who are close to me
12.	The needs of people close to me come before my own personal needs
13.	I need to provide for people close to me because they have provided for me
14.	I usually first consult people close to me before I make big decisions
15.	I would give up doing something that I enjoy very much if people close to me do not approve of it
16.	Duty towards people close to me comes before my own pleasure
17.	I can count on people close to me if I were in financial trouble
18.	What people close to me want for my future is as important to me as what I want for my future
19.	It is important that people close to me know everything about my personal life
20.	It is my duty to take care of people close to me, even when I have to sacrifice what I want
In-Group Sources	
21.	It is important for me to maintain harmony with the groups I am a member of
22.	When people in my groups are happy, I am happy
23.	I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the groups I am a member of
24.	I hate to disagree or argue with other people in my groups
25.	Belonging to groups with people who are similar to me makes me feel good about myself
26.	The groups that I belong to are an important part of who I am as a person
27.	The decisions made by the groups I belong to need to be respected
28.	I would conceal my negative emotions if I think they would cause unhappiness in the groups I am a member of
29.	Having relationships with people in my group is very important to me
30.	For groups to succeed, group members must stick together no matter what happens
Humanitarian Sources	
31.	I try to maintain harmony
32.	I enjoy sharing things
33.	I find it important to contribute towards humanity's wellbeing
34.	I feel obligated to help even when I cannot
35.	I believe that being tolerant is important
36.	I think that cooperation is important
37.	It is my responsibility to preserve the planet for future generations
38.	I think it is important to be respectful
39.	I can make a positive impact on the world
40.	My major mission is social justice

Table 7.3 *Coding Scheme for Rating Self-descriptions and Descriptions of Relationships with Others*

Categories	Definition	Example
Part A: Coding Scheme for Relational Orientation		
Personal orientation	Personal dispositions/traits, states and behaviors	“I am a smart person”
Implicit relational orientation	Relational orientation without a target	"I am social”
Explicit relational orientation	Relational orientation with a target	“I dislike funny people
Collective membership orientation	Indicates membership with large or small groups, and roles	"I am a father" or "I am Hindu"
Part B:Coding Scheme for Descriptions of Relationships		
Relationship Valence		
Generalized Negative	Negative descriptions	“She makes me sad”
Neutral /Unclear	Neutral descriptions	“Our relationship is normal”
Generalized Positive	Positive descriptions	“She has a good impact on my life”
Nature of Relationships		
Affective	Feelings, and emotions	“She loves me “
Behavioral	Behavior, actions and reactions	“He beats me”
Cognitive	Thoughts, beliefs, and abilities,	“She makes me a better person”
Utilitarian	Superficial, financial, non-psychological and immaterial	“He pays for my studies”
Directionality of Relationship Influence		
Uni-directional- towards describer	Person being described has influence on the actor	“My mother supports me”
Bi-directional	Influence is reciprocal between person described and actor	“We support each other”
Uni-directional-from describer	Actor has influence on the person described	“I support my brother”

***Ethnic Identity*.** The Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) was used to measure ethnic identity. It has 12 items, rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly agree*). The measure is computed by combining two subscales, namely Ethnic Identity Exploration, which measures sense of exploration with five items (e.g., "In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group"), and Ethnic Identity Belonging, which measures sense of belonging with seven items (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group"). Cronbach's α values were .87 for the Black group, .90 for the Coloured group, .94 for the Indian group, and .91 for the White group

Data analysis: Coding scheme and coding of qualitative responses. Firstly**,** self-descriptions were coded on relational orientation (see Table 7.3 for categories, and Chapters 4 and 5 for a full discussion of the coding scheme development). Four research interns in South Africa coded the self-description data. The interns were trained for several weeks to establish interrater reliability (Table 7.4). The data were divided equally amongst the four interns, after coding their own data they exchanged their coded sheets and performed quality checks on each other's data. When all data were coded the interns performed a last quality check on all coded responses.

Table 7.4 *Intraclass Correlation Coefficients for Relational Orientation and Relationship Description Codes*

Categories	Trial 1	Trial 2
Relational Orientation Self-Descriptions	.95	.96
Relationship Descriptions		
Directionality of Relationship Influence	.72	.81
Nature of Relationships	.85	.84
Relationship Valence	.93	.92

Secondly, relationship - descriptions were coded using a coding scheme developed through an iterative process. Each description was coded independently on the three dimensions presented in Table 7.3 (relationship valence, nature of relationships, and directionality of relationship influence). In addition, we coded each person with whom the relationship was described as either proximal (best friend, father, grandfather, grandmother, partner, mother, and sibling) or distal (high school teacher, neighbor, and classmate they least

liked) for purposes of social distance. Directionality of relationship influence with elders and peers was determined using proximal individuals, divided into elders (father, grandfather, grandmother, and mother) and peers (best friend, partner, and sibling). This was because individuals were likely to currently be in relationships with these proximal others. Two research interns in the Netherlands coded relationship descriptions. They were trained for three months by the primary investigator before interrater reliability was established, presented in Table 7.4. The data were divided equally amongst the two interns for coding.

If at any point during the training, interrater reliability process, and quality checking, the coders in either South Africa or the Netherlands experienced uncertainty with coding certain self-descriptions or relationships, the coders first discussed these with each other and then consulted the primary investigator. Any issues were resolved in consensus, and codes were assigned after group deliberation.

Results

Relational orientation in self-descriptions. We expected personal orientation to be prevalent at group and sample level (Hypothesis 1a). We then expected implicit relational orientation to be used more by the White group and explicit relational orientation to be used more by the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups (Hypothesis 2a).

Loglinear Analysis. We used loglinear analyses to examine associations between group and relational orientations in self-descriptions. This analysis provides a detailed account of how self-descriptions differ across groups, by providing both indications of main and interaction effects, as well as levels of significance of responses within interactions (Cramer, 2006). This was in line with a previous analysis of self- and other-descriptions (Chapters 4 and 5). When considering the results, we first assessed the model fit; a poor fitting (significant at a $p < .05$) model would confirm the hypotheses, as it would point to the salience of the group × dimension interaction (e.g., directionality of relationship orientations). Next, we examined the main effects, with group as a main effect providing little information beyond indication of sample representation.

The main effect of different relational orientation categories indicated which of the categories were most represented irrespective of group membership. This was important as it also highlighted group similarities. We assessed whether the result indicated by the main effect was similar for all groups by considering the proportions of responses within each category for each group. Finally, we inspected the interaction effects to establish whether the

patterning of the cell frequencies was in line with the predictions specified in the hypotheses. The standardized residuals for each cell in the analysis provided an indication of which categories were significantly over- or underrepresented in any particular ethnic group. Standardized residuals close to zero indicated that frequencies in self- and relationship descriptions would be as expected in a model with only main effects, whereas standardized residuals in the expected direction with absolute values larger than 1.96 (2.58 and 3.29) indicated significant effects at $p < .05$ ($p < .01$, and $p < .001$ respectively). Where there are no significant differences indicated across groups, we considered the main effects and proportions to provide a picture of which categories were most often used by a specific group.

Table 7.5 *Proportions (P) and Standardized Residuals (SR) for Relational Orientation (Self-descriptions) across South African Groups.*

	Black		Coloured		Indian		White	
Categories	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*
Personal orientation	.51	1.60	.45	**-2.08***	.48	-.59	.49	-.20
Implicit relational orientation	.19	**-4.05*****	.22	.66	.20	-1.00	.23	**3.33*****
Explicit relational orientation	.29	1.05	.32	**2.67****	.31	1.60	.26	**-2.55***
Collective membership orientation	.01	1.85	.00	**-2.43***	.01	.29	.01	-.56

Note. Significant residuals in bold
$^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

The poor model fit, $LR(9, n = 14{,}221) = 65.16$, $p < 001$, confirmed the interaction between group and relational orientation. Hypothesis 1a was supported as personal orientation ($b = 3.82$, $p < .001$) was the most common self-description at sample and group level (see proportions in Table 7.5). As can be seen in Table 7.5, the largest cultural differences were in the implicit and explicit relational orientation categories (similar to the results reported in Chapters 4 and 5). The Black and Coloured groups used significantly fewer implicit relational descriptions than the White and Indian groups, with the Coloured group also using significantly more explicit relational orientation descriptions than the other groups. The White group used significantly more implicit and less explicit relational descriptions than the other groups. The Indian group did not differ significantly from the other groups. Hypothesis 2a was partially supported (see Table 7.6 for summarized results in relation to the hypotheses).

Table 7.6 *Summarized Results of Hypotheses for Study 1: South Africa*

Hypotheses	Results	Explanation of Result
Relational Orientation in Self-descriptions		
***Hypothesis 1a*:** Personal orientation is more salient in self-descriptions than other categories at group and sample level.	Supported	Personal orientation was used more often at group and sample level.
***Hypothesis 2a*:** Implicit relational orientations are more salient in the White group than the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups, while explicit relational orientations are more salient in Black, Coloured, and Indian groups than the White group.	Partially Supported	Implicit relational orientation was more salient in the White group, while e**x**plicit relational orientation was more salient in the Coloured group, implicit relational orientation was least salient in the Black group, and the Indian group did not differ significantly from other groups.
Sources of Identification		
***Hypothesis 1b*:** Personal sources are more salient than other sources at group and sample level.	Group level Partially Supported Sample level Supported	At group level, personal sources were significantly different from all other sources except for humanitarian sources in the Black and Coloured groups. Within the sample, personal sources are significantly higher than the other sources.
***Hypothesis 2b*:** Humanitarian sources are more salient in the White group than in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups, while significant other and in-group sources are more salient in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups than in the White group.	Rejected	Significant other sources were more salient in the Black group than in the Coloured, Indian, and White groups, while humanitarian sources were more salient in the Black and Coloured groups than in the White group with the Indian group not significantly different from other groups on this source. There were no differences across groups for the in-group source.
Social Distance		
Hypothesis 3a: In the White group there is a relatively small social distance between the influence of proximal and distal others on identity.	Rejected	In the White group there is a relatively large social distance between the influence of proximal and distal others on identity.
***Hypothesis 3b*:** In the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups there is a relatively small social distance between the influences of proximal and distal others on identity.	Supported	In the Black, Coloured and Indian groups there is a relatively large social distance between the influence of proximal and distal others on identity.

Table 7.6 *(Cont.)*

Relationship Valence		
***Hypothesis 4a*:** In the White group there is little difference in valence between proximal and distal others for identity.	Rejected	Proximal others have a significantly more positive (rather than negative) influence on identity in the White group
***Hypothesis 4b*:** In the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups relationship with proximal others has a more positive influence on identity than relationships with distal others.	Supported	Proximal others have a significantly more positive (rather than negative) influence on identity in the Black, Coloured and Indian groups.
Nature of Relationships		
***Hypothesis 5a*:** In the White group relationships with others (proximal or distal) have a more psychological influence on identity.	Partially Supported	Relationships with proximal and distal others have both a psychological and utilitarian influence on identity in the White group.
***Hypothesis 5b*:** In the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups, relationships with others (proximal or distal) have both a psychological and utilitarian influence on identity.	Partially Supported	Relationships with proximal and distal others have a mainly psychological influence on identity in the Black and Coloured groups, but both a psychological and utilitarian influence on identity in the Indian group.
Directionality of Relationship Influence		
***Hypothesis 6a*:** In the White group relationships with others (proximal and distal) and peers have a more horizontal influence, while relationships with elders have a more vertical influence on identity.	Partially Supported	Relationships with proximal others and peers have a more horizontal influence while relationships with elders have a more vertical influence on the identity of the White group. There is no clear indication for distal relationships.
***Hypothesis 6b*:** In the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups, relationships with others (proximal and distal) and elders have a more vertical influence, while relationships with peers have a more horizontal influence on identity.	Partially Supported	Relationships with proximal and distal others and elders have a more vertical influence, while relationships with peers have a more horizontal influence on the identity of the Black group. Main effects indicate similar results for the Indian group. The Coloured group does not differ significantly from the other groups.
Association between Sources of Identification and Identity		
Hypothesis 7: Across all groups sources of identification indicative of a latent sources of identification factor were modeled to be positively associated with an identity factor indicated by personal and social (ethnic and religious) identity dimensions.	Partially Supported	Sources of identification were positive indicators for the latent sources of identification factor, which was positively associated with a latent identity factor indicated by personal and social identity dimensions. A direct link between personal sources and personal identity was added.

Sources of identification. We expected personal sources to be significantly more salient than other sources of identity at group and sample level (Hypothesis 1b). We conducted three paired-samples *t*-test to assess mean differences for the entire sample, between personal sources (*M* = 5.92, *SD* = 0.88) and significant other sources (*M* = 4.99, *SD* = 1.01), in-group sources (*M* = 5.15, *SD* = 1.02), and humanitarian sources (*M* = 5.75, *SD* = 0.88) for all groups.

We found personal sources to be significantly higher than significant other sources ($t(1151) = 25.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .37$)[11], in-group sources ($t(1151) = 22.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$), and humanitarian sources ($t(1151) = 6.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$). At group level, personal sources were not significantly different from all broad relational aspects (see Table 7.7 for *t*-test results and Table 7.8 for sources of identification mean differences across groups). Hypothesis 1b was partially supported at group level and fully supported at sample level.

Table 7.7 *Results for Paired-Sampled t-Tests per Group*

Group	Personal Source Paired with	*t*	*df*	η_p^2
Black	Significant Other Sources	16.97***	360	.44
	In-Group Sources	10.82***	360	.25
	Humanitarian Sources	0.92	360	.00
Coloured	Significant Other Sources	6.70***	109	.29
	In-Group Sources	5.78***	109	.23
	Humanitarian Sources	0.21	109	.00
Indian	Significant Other Sources	6.71*	61	.42
	In-Group Sources	6.73***	61	.43
	Humanitarian Sources	2.54***	61	.10
White	Significant Other Sources	17.12***	603	.33
	In-Group Sources	17.17***	603	.33
	Humanitarian Sources	7.37***	603	.08

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. (2-tailed)

We also expected that the humanitarian source would be more salient in the White group, while significant other and in-group sources would be more salient in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups (Hypothesis 2b). We used MANOVAs to establish mean differences across the four sources of identification across groups and included gender as an

[11] Two-tailed *t*-test significance

Table 7.8 *Mean Differences (Standard Deviations) for Sources of Identification across South African Groups and Gender*

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Group	
Group	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*F(3,1129)*	η_p^2
Personal Sources	5.93(0.84)	5.86(0.92)	6.06(0.67)	5.91 (0.93)	0.58	.002
Significant Other Sources	$4.82(1.02)_a$	$5.04(1.01)_b$	$5.10(1.03)_b$	$5.07(0.99)_b$	5.38^{**}	.014
In-group Sources	5.27(1.01)	5.18(0.96)	5.06(1.06)	5.09 (1.03)	2.31	.006
Humanitarian Sources	$5.89(0.78)_{a,c}$	$5.86(0.81)_{a,c}$	$5.76(0.83)_c$	$5.64(0.94)_{b,c}$	5.54^{**}	.015
			Male	Female	Gender	
Gender			*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*F(1,1129)*	η_p^2
Personal Sources			5.81(0.96)	5.97(0.86)	5.97^{*}	.005
Significant Other Sources			4.83(1.04)	5.05(1.00)	10.84^{**}	.010
In-group Sources			5.00 (1.11)	5.21(0.99)	7.39^{**}	.007
Humanitarian Sources			5.48 (0.99)	5.84(0.83)	31.04^{***}	.027

Note. Samples per group: Black group *n* = 360, Coloured group *n* = 109, Indian group *n* = 62, White group n = 603, Male *n* = 280, Female *n* = 854. Group means in rows with different subscripts are significantly different.

$^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

Table 7.9 *Mean Differences (Standard Deviations) for Social Distance Scores across South African Groups*

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Group	
	M(SD)	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*F(3. 1133)*	η_p^2
People you (may) know	$3.25(3.32)_{a,d,f}$	$4.37(3.16)_{b,c,f}$	$3.85(3.16)_{a,d,f}$	$4.43(3.72)_{b,d,e}$	8.93^{***}	.02
Education level	$7.37(2.81)_{a.c,e}$	$7.10(3.07)_{a,c,e}$	$7.72(2.75)_{a,c,d}$	$8.16(2.81)_{b,c,d}$	8.33^{***}	.02
Relative wealth status	6.89(2.96)	7.24(3.19)	7.15(2.84)	7.05(2.74)	0.53	.00
Cultural groups	$7.55(2.56)_{a}$	$9.25(3.31)_{b}$	$9.38(3.07)_{b}$	$9.02(3.16)_{b}$	21.88^{***}	.06
Religious groups	$10.24(3.04)_{a,c,e}$	$9.76(3.20)_{a,c,d}$	$9.08(3.28)_{b,c,d}$	$10.20(3.22)_{a,c,e}$	3.02^{*}	.01

Note. Samples per group: Black group *n* = 361, Coloured group *n* = 110, Indian group *n* = 62, White group n = 604. Means in rows with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ as indicated by the Least Squared Dimensions (LSD) post hoc test.

$^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

independent variable[12]. Multivariate effects were significant across groups (Wilks' Λ = .935, $F(12, 2979.41) = 6.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) and gender (Wilks' Λ = .972, $F(4, 1126.00) = 8.05$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$).

As can be seen from Table 7.8, females scored significantly higher than males on all sources of identification categories. There were significant group differences in only two categories: The Black group had significantly lower means for significant other source than the Coloured, Indian and White groups; and the Black and Coloured groups had significantly higher means for humanitarian source than the White group, with the Indian group not significantly different from any group. Hypothesis 2b was thus rejected.

Social distance. We examined social distance in relationship descriptions of proximal and distal others. We expected social distance to have a less pronounced influence on identity in the White group (low means; Hypothesis 3a), and proximal others to be more important for identity in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups (high means; Hypothesis 3b). We used MANOVA to establish mean differences across groups with respect to the social distance scores for people you may know, educational level, relative wealth, cultural group, and religious groups. The multivariate effects were significant for groups (Wilks' Λ = .870, $F(15, 3117) = 10.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$). Table 7.9 provides a comprehensive overview of mean differences. Hypothesis 3a was rejected because the White group makes large distinctions between proximal and distal others, indicated by the larger social distance (compared to the Black and Indian groups) for people they may know and educational level (compared to the Black and Coloured groups). Although in some cases the White group was more socially distant than the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups, the latter groups scored relatively high on social distance, which supported Hypothesis 3b.

Relationships valence. We examined valence[13] (negative, neutral, and positive descriptions, coded 0, 1, and 2, respectively) in relationship descriptions of proximal and distal

[12]Age and SES were either not, or at best weakly, correlated with the dependent variables. They were therefore excluded as covariates from the analysis.

[13] Valence scores were weighted for each individual for each relationship description. For example, for a Best Friend description, Participant 14 had one (1) negative valence (NV) description, one (1) neutral (NUV) description, and two (2) positive valence (PV) descriptions. Firstly, we accounted for the proportions of descriptions present in valence categories, which in this case is 0.33 for all valence categories. Secondly, we weighted the proportions by category to account for the ordinal nature of valence categories: 1 for NV, 2 for NUV, and 3 for PV, which meant that here weighted proportions equated to 0.33 for NV, 0.66 for NUV and 1.98 for PV. Finally, these weighted proportions were summed to provide a valence score of 2.97 for Best Friend for Participant 14

others. We expected no significant difference for proximal and distal others in terms of valence in the White group (Hypothesis 4a), and we expected proximal others to have a significantly more positive influence on identity in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups compared to distal others (Hypothesis 4b). We calculated mean scores for proximal and distal others across groups and conducted paired-samples *t*-test to assess mean differences for valence of proximal others and valence of distal others (see Table 7.10 for means). Valences for proximal others were significantly higher than valences for distal others in all groups: Black ($t(320) = 10.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$)[14]; Coloured ($t(94) = 11.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$); Indian ($t(56) = 6.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .44$); and White ($t(559) = 27.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$). Hypothesis 4a was therefore rejected and Hypothesis 4b was supported.

Table 7.10 *Mean Differences (Standard Deviations) for Proximal and Distal Valence Descriptions across South African Groups*

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
	M(SD)	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*
Proximal others	5.58(4.78)	5.47(3.17)	5.62(4.12)	5.32(5.58)
Distal others	3.19(3.57)	1.86(1.76)	2.90(3.35)	1.97(3.19)

Note. Samples per group: Black group *n* = 321, Coloured group *n* = 95, Indian group *n* = 57, White group n = 560. Sample sizes differ due to some incomplete/omitted qualitative responses submitted by participants. Means in rows with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ as indicated by the Least Squared Dimensions (LSD) post hoc test.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Nature of relationships. We used loglinear analyses to examine the nature of relationships and directionality of relationship influence across social distance and groups. In four independent models, we tested the relationship between group and (a) proximal and (b) distal nature of relationships, and (c) proximal and (d) distal directionality of relationship influence. We expected that mainly psychological aspects would influence identity in the White group (Hypothesis 5a), and that a combination of psychological and utilitarian aspects would influence identity in the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups (Hypothesis 5b).

[14] Significance indicated for a two-tailed *t*-test.

Table 7.11 *Proportions (P) and Standardized Residuals (SR) for Proximal and Distal Nature of Relationships and Directionality of Relationship Influence (Relationship Descriptions) across South African Groups*

	Black		Coloured		Indian		White	
Categories	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*
Nature of Relationships								
Proximal								
Affective descriptions	.30	**-3.77*****	.32	-.54	.35	.74	.35	**2.87*****
Behavioral descriptions	.21	-.78	.23	1.30	.16	**-3.12*****	.22	1.10
Cognitive descriptions	.39	**5.13*****	.35	.34	.36	.66	.32	**-4.30*****
Utilitarian descriptions	.10	-1.51	.10	-1.47	.13	1.86	.11	1.15
Distal								
Affective descriptions	.25	**9.93*****	.34	**7.88*****	.19	1.87	.02	**-13.34*****
Behavioral descriptions	.23	**-2.83****	.29	.50	.27	-.13	.31	**2.52***
Cognitive descriptions	.43	**5.74*****	.30	-.99	.17	**-4.53*****	.29	**-3.22****
Utilitarian descriptions	.09	**-11.49*****	.07	**-5.51*****	.37	**4.01*****	.39	**11.51*****
Directionality of Relationship Influence								
Proximal								
Other influences self	.44	**3.01****	.39	-1.27	.42	.51	.40	-1.82
Bi-directional influence	.34	**-3.64*****	.39	.81	.35	-1.29	.39	**2.72****
Self influences other	.22	.65	.22	.69	.23	1.02	.21	-1.09
Distal								
Other influences self	.46	**2.73****	.35	-1.44	.49	1.64	.37	**-2.37***
Bi-directional influence	.31	-1.39	.38	1.28	.28	-1.31	.35	1.15
Self influences other	.23	-1.89	.27	.37	.24	-.59	.28	1.69
Elder								
Other influences self	.53	**4.00*****	.44	-1.23	.47	.01	.45	**-2.31***
Bi-directional influence	.26	**-4.21*****	.31	.14	.30	-.51	.33	**3.06****
Self influences other	.21	-.88	.25	1.63	.23	.60	.22	-.24
Peer								
Other influences self	.35	.33	.34	-.30	.37	.73	.34	-.35
Bi-directional influence	.43	-1.63	.48	.74	.42	-1.18	.47	1.29
Self influences other	.22	**2.02***	.19	-.72	.23	.84	.19	-1.48

Note. Significant residuals in bold

$^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

The poor fit of the loglinear model confirmed the interaction between group and proximal nature of relationships [$LR(9, n = 15{,}490) = 91.62$, $p < .001$], and distal nature of relationships [$LR(9, n = 3{,}315) = 848.09$, $p < .001$]. Main effects revealed that cognitive descriptions were

most common in both proximal (b = 1.15, p < .001) and distal (b = 0.32, p < .001) relationship descriptions. Hypotheses 5a and 5b were partially supported. Standardized residuals (see Table 7.11) indicated that for proximal relationships, both Black and White groups, with no indication for the Coloured and Indian groups apart from the Indian group using less behavioral descriptions, used psychological descriptions. Distal relationships were illustrated using descriptions that are more psychological in the Black and Coloured groups, while the Indian group used mainly utilitarian descriptions and the White group used both psychological and utilitarian descriptions.

Directionality of relationship influence. We expected relationships with proximal and distal others and relationships with peers to have a more horizontal influence, while relationships with elders were expected to have a more vertical influence on identity in the White group (Hypothesis 6a). For the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups we expected proximal and distal others and elders to have a more vertical influence, while we expected peers to have a more horizontal influence on identity (Hypothesis 6b). The poor model fit confirmed the interaction between group and proximal directionality of relationship influence [LR(6, n = 14,747) = 40.43, p < .001] and distal directionality of relationship influence [LR(6, n = 3,161) = 31.29, p < .001]. Main effects revealed that influence on the describer was the most common for both proximal (b = 0.67, p < .001) and distal (b = 0.47, p < .001) relationship descriptions. The Black group used mainly vertical descriptions while the White group used mainly horizontal descriptions. The Coloured and Indian groups did not differ significantly from other groups, therefore, their descriptions were in line with main effects.

In addition, we assessed relationships with elders and peers. Poor model fit confirmed the interaction between group and elder directionality of relationship influence [LR(6, n = 7,959) = 54.23, p < .001] and peer directionality of relationship influence [LR(6, n = 6,788) = 14.58, p = .024]. Main effects revealed that influence on the describer was the most common in relationships with elders (b = 0.76, p < .001), while egalitarian relationships were most common in relationships with peers (b = 0.83, p < .001). There were some differences between groups. Standardized residuals (Table 7.11) indicated that the Black group used more vertical descriptions for elders (elders influencing them) and peers (them influencing peers), with the White group describing the influence of elders more horizontally. There were no significant results for the White group with regards to peer descriptions, and for the Coloured and Indian groups for both the elder and peer relationship descriptions, meaning

that these descriptions were in line with main effects. Hypothesis 6a and 6b were both partially supported.

Table 7.12 *Fit Statistics for Multigroup Analysis of Association between Sources of Identification and Identity across South African Groups*

Model	χ^2/df	AGFI	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
Unconstrained	2.46^{***}	0.93	0.93	0.96	0.04	-	-
Measurement weights	2.07^{***}	0.94	0.95	0.96	0.03	14.00	15
Structural weights	1.93^{***}	0.95	0.95	0.96	0.03	3.19	6
Structural residuals	*2.06^{***}*	*0.94*	*0.95*	*0.95*	*0.03*	*21.10^{**}*	*6*
Measurement residuals	2.37^{***}	0.94	0.93	0.92	0.04	79.03^{***}	24

Note. AGFI = Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index; TLI = Tucker–Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation. Most restrictive model with a good fit is in italics.
$^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Association between sources of identification and identity. A multigroup SEM in which sources of identification indicative of a latent sources of identification factor was modeled to be positively associated with an identity factor indicated by personal and social (ethnic and religious) identity dimensions (Hypothesis 7, see Figure 7.1) was tested. The initial model presented a poor fit; modification indices suggested a direct link between personal sources and personal identity. This improved the model fit. The structural residuals model was the most parsimonious model with an acceptable fit, $\chi^2(71, N = 1055) = 146.54$, $p < .001$, $\chi^2/df = 2.06$, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .03 $|\Delta CFI| = .009$ (See Table 7.12). As can be seen in Figure 7.2, all four sources of identification were good indicators of the latent sources of identification factor, with broader relational aspects more salient indicators of the latent sources of identification. In terms of the latent identity factor, personal identity seemed to be the best indicator followed by ethnic and then religious identity. Overall, sources of identification were a good predictor of identity. Hypotheses 7 was partially supported as there is an association between sources of identification and personal and social identity measures of identity, as well as a direct link between personal sources and personal identity ($\beta = .21$, $p < .001$), beyond the latent sources of identification and identity factors.

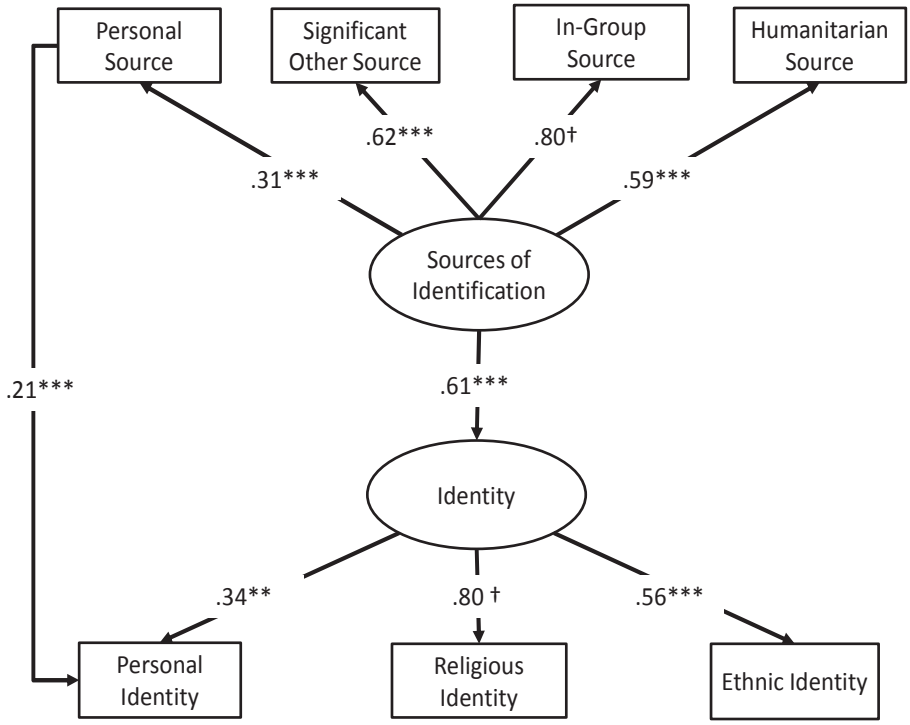

Figure 7.2 Multigroup Analysis of Association between Sources of Identification and Identity across South African Groups

Note. Means of standardized coefficients for the four South African groups are presented.

**p* < .05. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001. † Fixed at a value of 1 in unstandardized solution.

Association between sources of identification and identity. A multigroup SEM in which sources of identification indicative of a latent sources of identification factor was modeled to be positively associated with an identity factor indicated by personal and social (ethnic and religious) identity dimensions (Hypothesis 7, see Figure 7.1) was tested. The initial model presented a poor fit; modification indices suggested a direct link between personal sources and personal identity. This improved the model fit. The structural residuals model was the most parsimonious model with an acceptable fit, $\chi^2(71, N = 1055) = 146.54$, $p < .001$, $\chi^2/df = 2.06$, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .03 $|\Delta CFI| = .009$ (See Table 7.12). As can be seen in Figure 7.2, all four sources of identification were good indicators of the latent sources of identification factor, with broader relational aspects more salient indicators of the latent

sources of identification factor. In terms of the latent identity factor, personal identity seemed to be the best indicator followed by ethnic and then religious identity. Overall, sources of identification were a good predictor of identity. Hypotheses 7 was partially supported as there is an association between sources of identification and personal and social identity measures of identity, as well as a direct link between personal sources and personal identity ($\beta = .21$, $p < .001$), beyond the latent sources of identification and identity factors.

Discussion

Relational orientation and sources of identification. Similar to other studies we found little convergence (Del Prado et al., 2007) or methodological triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) for the coding of relational orientation in self-descriptions and the self-report sources of identification, especially with respect to cross-cultural differences on these measures. There is evidence, however, that our measures theoretically consider the importance of personal attributes for defining the self (Del Prado et al., 2007; Grace & Cramer, 2003; E. S. Kashima & Hardie, 2000). We found that our data converges across groups and measures one particular aspect, the salience of personal aspects that inform identity (see other work on self-descriptions by Bond & Cheung, 1983; Del Prado et al., 2007; as well as the studies reported in Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis). Irrespective of cultural background or measurement, personal attributes seem to be crucial for how individuals define themselves, indicating the importance of the individual in identity construction (individual self-primacy hypotheses; Gaertner et al., 2002).

Concerning the expected cross-cultural differences, we found that Black and Coloured groups were more relational than the White group in self-descriptions (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995). This is in line with our previous findings (see Chapter 4). Our expectations regarding sources of identification presented a different picture. In self-descriptions, the White group is more implicitly relational, a finding which we theoretically associated with universalism, which is likely to be a core value for Western individualistic groups (Fijneman et al., 1994; S. H. Schwartz, 1999; see also Chapter 4). However, in terms of sources of identification the Black and Coloured groups were found to be more salient in the humanitarian source than the White group. This finding suggests that the view of the extended relational self in line with *Ubuntu* (Nussbaum, 2003), is present in the self-report measures for the Black group. In addition, with the Black group scoring lower on significant other source than the other three groups, we found that the Coloured, Indian and White

groups emphasize the importance of significant others for their identities more than the extended group or even society (Andersen & Chen; 2002, also see Georgas et al., 2006).

Although this finding was not hypothesized we find it interesting that females scored significantly higher on all sources of identification, with the largest difference in the humanitarian source. This supports previous findings that suggest that women in general are more caring than men (Raeff, Marks Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000).

Interpersonal relationships across cultures. Relationships appear mostly to influence identity in line with expectations, especially for the Black group, but less so for the Coloured and Indian groups. As the only Western group in the South African context, many expectations regarding the White group came from the individualism-collectivism perspective (Triandis, 1995); however, these expectations were not supported by the data. In general, there is a large psychological distance between proximal and distal others in all four South African groups, evident in the large social distance and the positive evaluations of proximal others compared with distal others. This is in line with the positive distinctiveness perspective (R. Brown, 2000; Turner, 1999), and expectations for collectivistic groups who are more discriminative of out-group members (Triandis, 1995). Interestingly, in some instances the Black group was more open and positive towards out-group members than the White group, who are a numerical minority with economic interests to protect, and who could therefore be expected to feel more threatened, and thus motivated to protect their interests (Chapter 6).

Psychological aspects such as affective and cognitive outcomes were valued for identity more in proximal relationships than distal relationships. Where the Black and Coloured groups consistently indicated the importance of psychological aspects, the Indian and White groups seemed to value behavioral (a psychological aspect) and utilitarian outcomes more. This finding was contrary to our expectations concerning relationships with others (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2012; Georgas et al., 2007). Directionality of relationships, particularly for the Black, Indian, and White groups was very much in line with expectations based on theories of power distance (Hofstede, 2001) and hierarchy (S. H. Schwartz, 1999). The influence of relationships on the White group seems somewhat more collaborative, and appears to be absent of the authority present in other groups (Collins et al., 1997). While there is much congruence with the culture and value orientation literature, it is evident that contextual aspects may have a pronounced impact on how relationships influence identity, and therefore on an individual's relational schema.

Sources of identification and identity. The multigroup SEM in which the latent sources of identification factor predicted the latent identity factor was similar across groups. However, personal sources were important independent of other sources of personal identity. As the Structural Residuals Model was the most parsimonious model, this indicated that beyond the basic structure, factor loadings, and relationships between the latent sources of identification and latent identity factors being similar across groups, the error variances of the latent factors were also the same for South African groups (Milfont & Fischer, 2010). Sources of identification have a strong positive association with identity. Although there are differences concerning which sources of identification individuals from different groups use to define themselves the underlying structures of the association between sources of identification and identity is the same for South African groups. Individuals draw from the combination of personal and broader relational sources to construct their identities and define themselves (Brewer, 1999; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012; McAdams, 1996). Individuals negotiate their identities through the use of their individual attributes, social interactions, and the context (Phinney, 2000), with intrapersonal aspects important for a coherent personal identity.

Study 2: The Netherlands

In Study 2, we considered the Netherlands, a Western multicultural context. We asked similar research questions to those posed in Study 1, which were aimed at assessing the validity of constructs and their associations in South Africa, a non-Western multicultural context. In the Dutch context, mainstream Dutch individuals are essentially monocultural, and ascribe group membership to history, language, and various symbolic markers. The Netherlands has a long history of migration, which started in three waves after the Second World War: (a) immigrants from previous Dutch colonies, Indonesia, Suriname, the Dutch Antilles, and Aruba; (b) guest workers from Turkey and Morocco; and (c) Eastern Europeans who migrated mainly for political reasons. Immigrants make up around 20.89% of the population (Statistics Netherlands, 2012), and are broadly classified as either Western (44.56% of total immigrants) or non-Western (55.45%). The Turkish are the largest non-Western group (20.28% of the total non-Western immigrants), followed by the Moroccans (18.72%), Surinamese (17.90%), and Antillean and Arubans (7.43%). While Migrants of European descent are defined as Western immigrants, the Indonesian-Dutch group, who are the oldest

immigrant group in the Netherlands, are fully integrated into Dutch society and thus also classified as Western (Statistics Netherlands, 2012).

Method

Participants. In this study the sample consisted of 1362 participants (54.62% females, M_{age} = 46.41 years, *SD* = 16.20), comprising the following ethnocultural groups: Dutch mainstreamers (*n* = 450); Western immigrants (*n* = 530); and non-Western immigrants (*n* = 368)[15]. Table 7.13 provides a breakdown of descriptive statistics per group. Data from 22 participants were excluded, as they did not provide indication of group membership.

Table 7.13 *Sample Descriptive Statistics for the Dutch sample*

			SES
	Mean Age (SD)	Gender (Female %)	Mean Gross Monthly Family Income in Euros (SD)
Dutch mainstreamers	48.93(15.48)	51.93	3121.01(1384.43)
Western immigrants	49.52(16.97)	57.02	3094.21(4025.03)
Non-Western immigrants	39.94(13.60)	55.71	2170.66(1416.28)

Note. SES = Socioeconomic Status. Gross monthly income was used as a proxy for SES

Procedure. In this study, we used immigrant panel data from the Measurement and Experimentation in the Social Sciences (MESS) project run by CentERdata (Tilburg University, The Netherlands). The immigrant panel provides a representative sample of Dutch mainstreamers and immigrants who participate in monthly Internet surveys. The panel is based on a true probability sample of households drawn from the Dutch population register. Households that could not otherwise participate are provided with a computer and internet connection. More information regarding the Immigrant Panel can be obtained at www.lissdata.nl (see also Scherpenzeel & Das, 2010). Participants completed the questionnaire in Dutch. As questions were translated from English, cognitive interviews (Willis, 2005) were conducted on two occasions (with 10 and 8 Dutch participants at the first and second occasions respectively) prior to administration, to assess the formulation and interpretation of Dutch questions. These participants did not complete the final questionnaire. Data were collected in two waves, with participants having a maximum of 15 minutes to

[15] Western and non-Western immigrant groups are heterogeneous; these categorizations were used as we would not have been able to use these groups independently in our analysis due to the groups being very small (also see Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2012).

complete each questionnaire, as prescribed by the CentERdata. An ethnic identity questionnaire was administered to the panel previously and the data was made available for this study.

Measures. We only provide detailed descriptions of measures not described in Study 1. All measures were translated into Dutch and we performed similar procedures for establishing measurement invariance to those performed in Study 1.

***Sociodemographic questionnaire*.** Participants were asked to provide sociodemographic information such as age, gender and net monthly household income. Across the groups, chi-square analysis indicated no significant differences for gender, $\chi^2(3, N = 1{,}162) = 2.50$, $p = .287$. ANOVAs across groups indicated significant differences for net monthly household income [$F(2, 1219) = 14.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$], which is higher for Dutch mainstreamers, and age [$F(2, 1219) = 43.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .067$], with Western immigrants being older.

Relationship- and self-descriptions. Participants were asked to describe three relationships, two proximal (parent and best friend) and one distal (neighbor). For self-descriptions, participants were requested to provide (only) five statements.

Social Distance Scale. We only included people you may know (e.g., "Parent" or "High school teacher") and cultural groups in the Dutch context (e.g., "The Dutch" and "The Turkish"). Individuals rated their relative proximity on a 15-point Likert scale ranging from 1(*Very Close*) to 15 (*Very Distant*).

Sources of Identification Scale. Cronbach's α values for the SOIS for Dutch mainstreamers were between .87 and .91 with a mean of .88, for Western immigrants between .88 to .91 with a mean of .89, and for non-Western immigrants between .91 and .92 with a mean of .92.

Personal Identity. Cronbach's α values for the EPSI identity subscale (Rosenthal et al., 1981) were .88 for Dutch mainstreamers, .88 for Western immigrants .88, and .89 for non-Western immigrants.

Religious Identity. Cronbach's α values for RISS (see Chapter 3) for Dutch mainstreamers were .91, for Western immigrants .88, and for non-Western immigrants .97.

***Ethnic Identity*.** A shortened version of the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) that measures general ethnic identity was included. It has 5 items, rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). It measures connection to one's ethnic group

"I feel connected to other 'Turkish/Moroccan' persons". Cronbach's α values for Dutch mainstreamers were .84, for Western immigrants .89, and for non-Western immigrants .86.

Table 7.14 *Intraclass Correlation Coefficients for Relational Orientation and Relationship Description Codes*

Categories	Trial 1
Relational Orientation Self-Descriptions	.97
Relationship Descriptions	
Directionality of Relationship Influence	.88
Nature of Relationships	.88
Relationship Valence	.95

Note: For the Dutch data, only one trial was necessary.

Data analysis: Coding scheme and coding of qualitative responses. Relationship- and self-descriptions were translated from Dutch to English in three stages. In the first stage an electronic internet based translation service DocTranslator (http://www.onlinedoctranslator.com/ translator.html) performed initial translations. The program used Google translate to translate a Windows Excel sheet with all responses. In the second stage three bilingual Dutch research interns and the primary investigator checked the quality of translations. Finally, in the third stage translations were checked for accuracy by the project supervisor. The same research interns then coded the translated descriptions as in Study 1, with the addition of an additional research intern for coding relationship descriptions. The primary investigator and another research intern trained the new intern for several weeks. Coding then commenced in a similar manner to that used in Study 1. Prior to coding self-descriptions (South Africa) and relationship descriptions (the Netherlands), we conducted one round of interrater reliability, presented in Table 7.14.

Results

Relational orientation in self-descriptions. We expected personal orientation to prevail in self-descriptions at group and sample level (Hypothesis 1a). We also expected self-descriptions of non-Western immigrants to be more relational than those of Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants (Hypothesis 2a). A poor model fit, $LR(6, n = 14{,}221) = 12.71$, $p = 048$, confirmed the significance of the interaction between group and relational orientation. Personal orientations ($b = 3.15$, $p < .001$) were the most common responses at sample and group level (see proportions in Table 7.15), which supported Hypothesis 1a (see

Table 7.16 for an overview of hypotheses and results). There was only one significant cross-cultural difference; the Dutch had significantly less collective group orientations than the other groups (see Table 7.15). Hypothesis 2a was rejected.

Table 7.15 *Proportions (P) and Standardized Residuals (SR) for Relational Orientation (Self-descriptions) across Dutch Groups.*

	Dutch		Western		Non-Western	
Categories	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*
Personal orientation	.53	0.82	.52	-0.47	.52	-0.31
Implicit relational orientation	.24	0.50	.24	-0.09	.23	-0.44
Explicit relational orientation	.21	-1.01	.22	0.52	.22	0.45
Collective membership orientation	.02	**-2.45***	.03	0.94	.03	1.53

Note. Significant residuals in bold.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Sources of identification. We expected personal sources to be significantly more salient than other sources at group and sample level (Hypothesis 1b). We first conducted a paired-samples *t*-test to assess mean differences between personal sources and broader relational sources. At group level, personal sources were significantly different from all other sources except from humanitarian sources for Dutch mainstreamers and non-Western immigrants (see Table 7.17 for group *t*-test results and Table 7.18 for sources of identification mean differences across groups). We then conducted three paired-samples *t*-test at sample level, between personal sources ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 1.04$) and significant other sources ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.07$), in-group sources ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.03$), and humanitarian sources ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 0.95$). Here, personal sources were significantly higher than significant other sources ($t(1319) = 16.04$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$)[16], in-group sources ($t(1319) = 16.56$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$) and humanitarian sources ($t(1319) = 2.34$, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$). Thus, Hypothesis 1b was partially supported at group level and fully supported at sample level.

[16] Significance indicated for a Two-tailed *t*-test.

Table 7.16 *Summarized Results of Hypotheses for Study 2: The Netherlands*

Hypotheses	Results	Explanation of Result
Relational Orientation in Self-descriptions		
Hypothesis 1a: Personal orientation is more salient in self-descriptions than other categories at group and sample level.	Supported	Personal orientation was used more often at group and sample level.
Hypothesis 2a: Implicit relational orientations are more salient for Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants, while explicit relational orientations are more salient for non-Western immigrants than for Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants.	Rejected	There were no significant differences between groups for implicit and explicit relational orientation.
Sources of Identification		
Hypothesis 1b: Personal sources are more salient than other sources at group and sample level.	Group level Partially Supported Sample level Supported	At group level, personal sources were significantly different from all other sources except from humanitarian sources for Dutch mainstreamers and non-Western immigrants. At sample level, personal sources were significantly higher than the other sources.
Hypothesis 2b: Humanitarian sources are more salient for Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants than for non-Western immigrants, while significant other and in-group sources are more salient for non-Western immigrants than for Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants.	Rejected	There were no significant differences across groups in terms of sources of identification.
Social Distance		
Hypothesis 3a: For Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants there is a relatively small social distance between the influence of proximal and distal others on identity.	Partially Supported	For Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants there is a relatively small social distance between the influences of people they may know, and large social distance between the influence for cultural groups on identity.
Hypothesis 3b: For non-Western immigrants there is a relatively large social distance between the influence of proximal and distal others on identity.	Supported	For Non-Western immigrants there there is a relatively large social distance between the influence of proximal and distal others on identity
Relationship Valence		
Hypothesis 4a: For Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants there is little difference in valence between proximal and distal others for identity.	Rejected	Proximal others have a significantly more positive influence than distal others on the identity of Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants.

Table 7.16 (*Cont.*)

Relationship Valence		
Hypothesis 4b: For non-Western immigrants relationships with proximal others have a more positive influence on identity than relationships with distal others.	Supported	Proximal others have a significantly more positive influence on the identity of non-Western immigrants than distal others.
Nature of Relationships[17]		
Hypothesis 5a: For Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants, relationships with others (proximal or distal) have more of a psychological influence on identity.	Supported for proximal others	Nature of relationships with proximal others have a mainly psychological influence on identity for Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants.
Hypothesis 5b: For non-Western immigrants relationships with others (proximal or distal) have both a psychological and utilitarian influence on identity.	Supported for proximal others	Nature of relationships with proximal others have a mainly psychological influence but are also more utilitarian for non-Western immigrants than for the other groups.
Directionality of Relationship Influence		
Hypothesis 6a: For Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants relationships with others (proximal and distal) and peers have a more horizontal influence, while relationships with elders have a more vertical influence on identity.	Partially Supported	Relationships with distal others and peers have a more horizontal influence while relationships with elders have a more vertical influence on the identity of Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants. These groups did not differ significantly from the non-Western group for proximal relationships.
Hypothesis 6b: For non-Western immigrants relationships with others (proximal and distal) and elders have a more vertical influence, while relationships with peers have a more horizontal influence on identity.	Supported	Relationships with proximal and distal others and elders have a more vertical influence, while relationships with peers have a more horizontal influence on the identity of non-Western immigrants.
Association between Sources of Identification and Identity		
Hypothesis 7: Across all groups sources of identification indicative of a latent sources of identification factor were modelled to be positively associated with a latent identity factor indicated by personal and social (ethnic and religious) identity dimensions.	Partially Supported	Sources of identification were positive indicators (except for Dutch mainstreamers' personal sources, which was a negative indicator of the latent sources of identification factor) for the latent sources of identification factor, which was positively associated with a general identity factor indicated by personal and social identity dimensions. A direct link between personal sources and personal identity was added.

[17] Data did not fit the model with respect to nature of relationships for distal others, therefore results presented are only concerning proximal others

Table 7.17 *Results for Paired-Samples t-Tests per Group*

Group	Personal Source Paired with	*t*	*df*	η_p^2
Dutch mainstreamers	Significant Other Sources	7.73***	425	.12
	In-Group Sources	8.71***	425	.15
	Humanitarian Sources	1.10	425	.00
Western immigrants	Significant Other Sources	10.57***	503	.18
	In-Group Sources	10.98***	503	.19
	Humanitarian Sources	2.13*	503	.01
Non-Western Immigrants	Significant Other Sources	8.87***	367	.18
	In-Group Sources	8.61***	367	.17
	Humanitarian Sources	0.94	367	.00

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. (2-tailed)

We also expected that the humanitarian source would be more salient for Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants, while significant other and in-group sources would be more salient for non-Western immigrants (Hypothesis 2b). MANOVA was used to establish mean differences in the four sources of identification across groups and gender. Multivariate effects were not significant for groups, but there were differences across gender (Wilks' Λ = .984, $F(4, 1291.00) = 5.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). Univariate analyses indicated that females scored significantly higher for significant other and humanitarian sources of identification (Table 7.18). Hypothesis 2b was rejected.

Table 7.18 *Mean Differences (Standard Deviations) for Sources of Identification across Dutch Groups and Gender*

	Dutch	Western	Non-Western	Group	
Groups	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*F(2,1294)*	η_p^2
Personal Sources	5.24(0.92)	5.33(1.02)	5.35(1.21)	1.13	.002
Significant Other Sources	4.74(0.99)	4.70(1.05)	4.71(1.18)	0.22	.000
In-group Sources	4.68(0.97)	4.66(1.03)	4.75(1.12)	0.79	.001
Humanitarian Sources	5.19(0.88)	5.22(0.91)	5.30(1.08)	1.31	.002
		Male	Female	Gender	
Gender		*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*F(1,1294)*	η_p^2
Personal Sources		5.31(1.03)	5.31(1.06)	0.01	.000
Significant Other Sources		4.65(1.05)	4.77(1.08)	4.62*	.004
In-group Sources		4.66(1.05)	4.72(1.03)	1.27	.001
Humanitarian Sources		5.12(0.97)	5.33(0.92)	15.10***	.012

Note. Samples per group: Dutch mainstreamers n = 426, Western immigrants n = 504, Non-Western immigrants n = 368, Male n = 585, Female n = 713.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Social distance. We examined social distance for 'people you know' and cultural groups. We expected social distance to have a less pronounced influence on identity in Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants than in non-Western immigrants (Hypothesis 3a), and proximal others to be more important for the identity of non-Western immigrants (Hypothesis 3b). A MANOVA was used to establish mean differences across groups using social distance for 'people you know' and cultural groups as dependent variables. Multivariate effects were significant for group (Wilks' $\Lambda = .981$, $F(4, 2588.00) = 6.739$ $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$; see Table 7.19 for mean differences). Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants presented lower means for 'people you know' than cultural groups. Non-Western immigrants had relatively high means for 'people you know' and, although lower than the means of Dutch mainstreamers, relatively high means for cultural distance. Hypothesis 3a was partially supported and Hypothesis 3b was supported.

Table 7.19 *Mean Differences (Standard Deviations) for Social Distance Scores and Proximal and Distal Valence Descriptions across Dutch Groups*

	Dutch	Western	Non-Western	Group	
	M(SD)	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*F*(2, 1295)	η_p^2
People you (may) know	$3.71(4.58)_{a,c}$	$3.30(4.38)_{a,c}$	$4.17(4.75)_{b,d}$	3.93^{*}	.006
Cultural groups	$10.75(3.72)_{a}$	$10.20(3.78)_{b}$	$9.94(3.44)_{b}$	4.16^{**}	.008

Note. Samples per group: Dutch mainstreamers $n = 426$, Western immigrants $n = 504$, Non-Western immigrants $n = 368$. Means in rows with different subscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ as indicated by the Least Squared Dimensions (LSD) post hoc test.
$^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

Relationship valence. We expected no significant difference for proximal and distal others in terms of influence of valence for identity of Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants (Hypothesis 4a), and we expected proximal others to have a significantly more positive influence on the identity of non-Western immigrants compared to distal others (Hypothesis 4b). After calculating mean scores for proximal and distal others, we conducted a paired-samples *t*-test to assess mean differences for valence of proximal others and valence of distal others (see Table 7.20 for means). Valence for proximal others was significantly higher than valence for distal others in all groups: Dutch mainstreamers ($t(409) = 9.57$, p

< .001, $\eta_p^2 =$ .18)[18]; Western immigrants (t(488) = 9.94, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 =$ .17); and non-Western immigrants (t(352) = 10.47, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 =$ .24). Hypothesis 4a was rejected and Hypothesis 4b was supported.

Nature of relationships. We examined the nature of relationships and directionality of relationships for proximal and distal others using loglinear analyses. In four independent models we tested the relationship between group and (a) proximal and (b) distal nature of relationships, and (c) proximal and (d) distal directionality of relationship influence. We expected that when describing the nature of relationships mainly psychological aspects would influence the identity of Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants (Hypothesis 5a), and that a combination of psychological and utilitarian aspects would influence the identity of non-Western immigrants (Hypothesis 5b). The poor model fit confirmed the interaction between group and the nature of relationships for proximal others [LR(6, n = 8,479) = 29.91, p < .001]. Main effects indicated that cognitive descriptions were used most often for proximal descriptions (b = 1.16, p < .001). The model fit indicated no interaction of the data between group and the nature of relationships for distal relationships [LR(4, n = 3,162) = 7.53, p = .275]. We could only consider standardized residuals for proximal others (see Table 7.21). These indicated that for proximal others Hypothesis 5a and 5b were supported. All groups mostly used psychological cognitive descriptions; however, utilitarian aspects were also important for non-Western immigrants.

Table 7.20 *Mean Differences (Standard Deviations) for Social Distance Scores and Proximal and Distal Valence Descriptions across Dutch Groups*

	Dutch	Western	Non-Western
	M(SD)	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*
Proximal Others	7.80(4.99)	7.94(5.79)	7.15(5.09)
Distal Other	5.25(4.64)	$5.19(4.63)_a$	$4.49(4.12)_b$

Note. Samples per group: Dutch mainstreamers n = 410, Western immigrants n = 489, Non-Western immigrants n = 353. Sample sizes differ due to not all participants completing/omitting some qualitative responses. Means in rows with different subscripts are significantly different at p < .05 as indicated by the Least Squared Dimensions (LSD) post hoc test.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

[18] Significance indicated for a two-tailed t-test.

Directionality of relationships influence. We expected relationships with proximal and distal others and peers to have a more horizontal influence and relationship with elders to have a more vertical influence on the identity of Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants (Hypothesis 6a). We expected proximal and distal others and elders to have a more vertical influence, and peers to have a more horizontal influence on the identity of non-Western immigrants (Hypothesis 6b). The poor model fit confirmed the interaction between group and proximal directionality of relationship influence [$LR(4, n = 8{,}479) = 19.86, p = .001$] and distal directionality of relationship influence [$LR(4, n = 3{,}162) = 30.20, p < .001$]. Main effects revealed that descriptions towards the describer were the most common for proximal others ($b = 0.67, p < .001$) and egalitarian descriptions were the most common for distal others ($b = 0.21, p < .001$).

Standardized residuals, as presented in Table 7.21, indicated that Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants did not differ significantly from each other or from non-Western immigrants on proximal directionality of relationship influence. Non-Western immigrants described both proximal and distal relationships more vertically, while Dutch mainstreamers described distal relationships more horizontally. For relationships with elders, we used the relationship descriptions of the parent, and for peer the relationship description of the best friend. The poor model fit confirmed the interaction between group and elder directionality of relationship influence [$LR(4, n = 2{,}849) = 10.35, p = .035$], and peer directionality of relationship influence [$LR(6, n = 2{,}824) = 10.78, p = .029$]. Main effects revealed that the influence on the describer was the most common in relationships with parents ($b = 0.46, p < .001$), while egalitarian relationships were most common in relationships with a best friend ($b = 0.74, p < .001$). There were no significant differences across groups for relationships with peers, as can be seen in Table 7.21. Hypothesis 6a was partially supported while Hypothesis 6b was supported.

Association between sources of identification and identity. A multigroup SEM in which sources of identification indicative of a latent sources of identification factor was modeled to be positively associated with an identity factor indicated by personal and social (ethnic and religious) identity dimensions (Hypothesis 7, see Figure 7.1) was tested. Similar to the model in Study 1 (Figure 7.2), the modification indices indicated a direct link between personal sources and personal identity.

Table 7.21 *Proportions (P) and Standardized Residuals (SR) for Proximal and Distal Nature of Relationships and Directionality of Relationship Influence (Relationship Descriptions) across Dutch Groups.*

	Dutch		Western		Non-Western	
Categories	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*	*P*	*SR*
Nature of Relationships						
Proximal						
Affective descriptions	.18	0.18	.18	-0.99	.19	1.09
Behavioral descriptions	.33	0.96	.32	-0.44	.31	-0.53
Cognitive descriptions	.38	-0.61	.41	**2.22***	.35	**-2.22***
Utilitarian descriptions	.12	-0.70	.11	**-2.03***	.15	**3.48*****
Distal[19]						
Affective descriptions	.16	-0.66	.18	0.43	.18	0.24
Behavioral descriptions	.50	0.56	.46	-1.12	.50	0.79
Cognitive descriptions	.18	-0.93	.21	1.09	.19	-0.31
Utilitarian descriptions	.16	0.75	.15	0.32	.13	-1.33
Directionality of Relationship Influence						
Proximal						
Other influences self	.36	-0.21	.37	0.88	.35	-0.93
Bi-directional influence	.36	1.82	.34	-0.26	.32	-1.76
Self influences other	.28	-1.72	.29	-0.71	.33	**2.92****
Distal						
Other influences self	.23	-0.80	.26	1.47	.22	-0.97
Bi-directional influence	.51	**2.57***	.44	-0.95	.41	-1.87
Self influences other	.26	**-2.44***	.30	-.15	.37	**3.15****
Elder						
Other influences self	.50	.31	.49	-.07	.48	-.31
Bi-directional influence	.22	1.71	.19	-.78	.18	-1.34
Self influences other	.28	1.77	.34	.72	.34	1.30
Peer						
Other influences self	.23	-1.21	.27	.93	.26	.25
Bi-directional influence	.52	.81	.51	.25	.46	-1.51
Self influences other	.24	.07	.22	-1.31	.28	1.93

Note. Significant residuals in bold

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

[19] There is no interaction between nature of relationship and distal others

While the overall fit improved, fit indices showed that the structural weights model may provide a good fit to the data $\chi^2(47, N = 854) = 111.39$, $p < .001$, $\chi^2/df = 2.37$, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .041, |ΔCFI| = .001, but the difference in CFI between the unconstrained and measurement weights model was still too large (|ΔCFI| = .040, see Table 7.22). In order to improve the model fit, we needed to release the constraint between the personal source of identification and the latent sources of identification factor. After this modification, the partial structural weights model presenting the most parsimonious model with an acceptable fit, $\chi^2(49, N = 854) = 106.21$, $p < .001$, $\chi^2/df = 2.16$ CFI = .97, RMSEA = .03, |ΔCFI| = .001 (Table 7.22).

Table 7.22 *Fit Statistics for Multigroup Analysis of Association of Sources of Identity and Identity across Dutch Groups*

Model	χ^2/df	AGFI	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
Original Fit Statistics with path between personal source and sources of identification							
Unconstrained	1.85**	0.95	0.94	0.97	0.03	-	-
Measurement weights	2.52***	0.93	0.90	0.93	0.04	47.50***	10
Structural weights	2.37***	0.94	0.91	0.93	0.04	2.84	4
Structural residuals	2.74***	0.92	0.88	0.91	0.05	28.52***	4
Measurement residuals	3.33***	0.91	0.84	0.83	0.05	83.34***	16
Fit Statistics with path between personal source and sources of identification released							
Unconstrained	1.85**	0.95	0.94	0.97	0.03	-	-
Partial Measurement weights	1.72**	0.95	0.95	0.97	0.03	9.55	8
Partial Structural weights	*1.64****	*0.96*	*0.96*	*0.97*	*0.03*	*2.99*	*4*
Partial Structural residuals	2.17***	0.94	0.92	0.94	0.04	32.61***	4
Partial Measurement residuals	2.78***	0.92	0.88	0.88	0.05	74.40**	16

Note. AGFI = Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index; TLI = Tucker–Lewis Index; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation. Most restrictive model with a good fit is in italics.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

As can be seen in Figure 7.3, for Western and non-Western immigrants all four sources of identification were positive indicators of the latent sources of identification factor. However, personal source was a more salient positive indicator for non-Western immigrants (β = .45, $p < .001$) than for Western immigrants (β = .16, $p < .010$). For Dutch mainstreamers, personal source is a negative indicator of the latent sources of identification factor (β = -.14, $p < .039$). Personal sources was positively associated with personal identity (β = .24, $p < .001$),

beyond the latent sources of identification and identity factors. Concerning the latent identity factor religious and ethnic identity were more salient indicators than personal identity. Overall, sources of identification seemed to be good predictors of identity. Hypothesis 7 was partially supported.

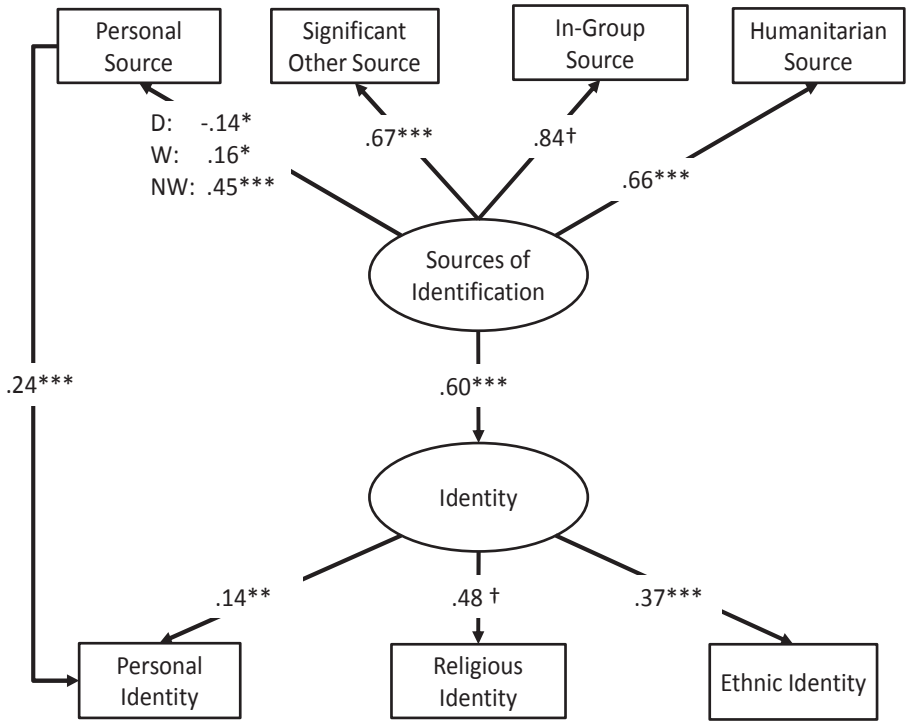

Figure 7.3 Multigroup Analysis of the Association of Sources of Identity and Identity across Dutch Groups

Note. D = Dutch mainstreamers, W = Western immigrants, and NW = non-Western immigrants. Means of standardized coefficient for the three Dutch groups are presented; except for the association between personal source and sources of identification, which differed significantly across groups.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. † Fixed at a value of 1 in unstandardized solution.

Discussion

Relational orientation and sources of identification. There seemed to be much more convergence across measures and groups in the Dutch sample than in the South African sample. Firstly, the salience of personal aspects that inform identity (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Del Prado et al., 2007, Chapters 4 and 5), in line with the individual self-primacy hypotheses,

seems universal. Personal attributes seem most important for identity construction (Gaertner et al., 2002). Secondly, we found no cross-cultural differences in self-descriptions and sources of identification. This lack of difference may be due to immigrant groups in the Dutch sample being integrated into Dutch society. The only cross group difference in both measures was that Dutch mainstreamers valued collective group orientations significantly less than immigrant groups. This may be due to group membership being more symbolically important for immigrant groups (Verkuyten, 2005), and less relevant for Dutch mainstreamers.

In addition, females in the second study also scored significantly higher than men for humanitarian sources and other sources of identification. Females thus seem to value relations with significant others more than men (Gabriel & Gardner, 1999), and their general caring tendency (Raeff et al., 2000) seems important for how they define themselves.

Interpersonal relationships across cultures. In the Dutch context, the study yielded results largely in line with our expectations. There is larger social distance between proximal and distal others for non-Western immigrant than for Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants. This finding is in accordance with the individualism–collectivism perspective (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995). However, this was not the case in terms of valence, where it seemed that, similar to the South African groups and in accordance with the positive distinctiveness perspective (R. Brown, 2000; Turner, 1999), all Dutch groups were more discriminative and evaluated proximal others more positively. This may be due to the current economic climate present in the Netherlands, which has forced even the Dutch mainstream group to close ranks and to become more in-group focused (Verkuyten, 2011). However, we cannot rule out that this was already the case before the economic downturn.

It was also clear that within the Dutch context, at least for proximal others, behavioral and cognitive psychological aspects were most important for identity in relationships for all groups, with non-Western immigrants also emphasizing utilitarian outcomes. This is in line with expectations regarding the aspects that are valued in relationships in Western contexts (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2012; Georgas et al., 2006; Realo et al., 1997). In, addition, for the most part the directionality of relationships was as expected. Thus, for non-Western immigrants (proximal and distal) others and elders were described vertically while peers were described horizontally. For Dutch mainstreamers and Western immigrants relationships were mainly horizontal for distal others and peers and vertical for elders (Hofstede, 2001; S. H. Schwartz, 1999). However, for proximal others, there was a one directional influence towards

the describer which may highlight the degree to which proximal others inform identity (Collins et al., 1997; Phinney et al., 2001).

Sources of identification and identity. The multigroup SEM in which the latent sources of identification factor predicted the latent identity factor seemed to differ slightly across groups. The broader relational (significant other, in-group, and humanitarian) sources of identification functioned similarly across Dutch groups and served as a strong positive indicator of identity. However, personal sources were different across the three Dutch groups. Regression coefficients for personal sources indicating the latent sources of identification factor differed sizably across groups. Personal sources were strong positive indicators in the non-Western group, weak positive indicators in the Western group, and negatively associated with sources of identification in the Dutch group. It seems that personal values, beliefs, and goals are important to groups in different ways. As there are three relational indicators of sources of identification, it is possible that Dutch mainstreamers distinguish broader relational sources from personal sources more clearly than the immigrant groups. Nonetheless, at least concerning broader relational sources, the underlying structures of the association between sources of identification and identity is the same for Dutch groups. Individuals draw on their broad relational sources to construct their identities and to define themselves. However, their personal attributes are used differently in their self-definition, in the Dutch mainstream group this is possibly as a means of distinguishing the self from others to a greater degree (Brewer, 1999; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012)

General Discussion

Identity is defined in the space between the personal, relational, social, and contextual spaces the individual inhabits (Ashmore et al., 2004; Reid & Deaux, 1996). In this research, we investigated the importance of relationships for identity in two very distinct multicultural contexts, South Africa (Study 1) and the Netherlands (Study 2). In Study 1, we considered the four main ethnocultural groups in South African, namely the Black, Coloured, Indian, and White groups. Our theoretical framework of relational orientation stems from this context. In Study 2, the Netherlands, we considered three groups, namely the Dutch mainstreamers, Western immigrants, and non-Western immigrants groups. The Dutch context is a new multicultural Western setting, in which we could assess similar assumptions as presented in Study 1, and in previous studies (see Chapters 4 and 5). We start the general discussion by

providing an overview of our primary research questions. This is followed by a discussion of the importance of personal and broad relational aspects for identity. Thereafter we consider factors that inform interpersonal relationships, and finally we evaluate the association between sources of identification and identity.

Using a multimethod approach, we had three objectives. The first objective involved establishing methodological triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) by considering relational orientation in self-descriptions (qualitative measure) and sources of identification in a self-report measure (quantitative measure). The second objective involved using relational schemas (Baldwin, 1997) to examine free relationship descriptions. We deconstructed these descriptions in terms of (a) social distance, (b) relationship valence, (c) nature of relationships, and (d) directionality of relationship, in order to understand the importance of relationships for identity. The third objective involved testing a model in which sources of identification were positively associated with personal and social (ethnic and religious) identity dimensions.

In relation to the first research question, which focused on whether relational orientation as examined in self-descriptions converges with sources of identification in self-reports, we found some convergence between free self-descriptions and self-report measures but the association was limited (Del Prado et al., 2007). Individual aspects of identity, such as personal orientation in the self-concept and personal sources of identification, seem important for the identity negotiation process in all groups across both contexts. In line with the individual self-primacy hypothesis (Gaertner et al., 2002), personal orientation descriptions prevailed in self-descriptions. This also seems to be evident in sources of identification, where at country level and to some degree at group level, personal sources were significantly more salient than broader relational sources. It seems that individuals negotiate their identity based on their individual goals, values, and beliefs, which are developed in line with the individual's self-definition (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010). However, as personal and social identity dimensions are interrelated, the self is simultaneously conceptualized as the individual-self the self in relation to the others, and the self in context. Stemming from this robust conception of self, individuals are able to adjust and cope with the environmental complexities with which they are faced (Gaertner et al., 2002; see also Josselson, 2013; Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006; Triandis, 2001).

In terms of broader relational aspects, which are also important for self-definition (E. S. Kashima & Hardie, 2000), we found that groups are more easily differentiated in the South

African context than in the Dutch context. This may be due to the different groups in the Dutch contexts being more integrated into Dutch society, whereas South African groups are more segregated and distinct from one another. What seems clear, however, is the value of including *Ubuntu*, the humanitarian, universal self, in understanding the space in which identity is negotiated (Kuwayma, 1983; Nussbaum, 2003; S. H. Schwartz, 1999; Triandis, 1995). Although implicit and explicit relational orientation in self-descriptions were salient in both contexts, the small, and often nonsignificant, mean differences between personal sources and humanitarian sources, indicates the salience of both these dimensions for identity. Considerations such as society and humanity in general, which is inclusive of all individuals, are important for how individuals define themselves. When individuals define themselves, the importance of relating to others (relationships) goes beyond individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 2995), self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1998), and the trichotomous self-representation model (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

Research Question 2 investigated the importance of interpersonal relationships for identity. Through free relationship descriptions, we accessed relational schemas (Baldwin, 1997), which informed our understanding of the 'broader' relational self (Andersen & Chen, 2002; Chen et al., 2006). We considered four constituent dimensions in relationships important for identity, namely social distance, relationship valence, the nature of relationships, and directionality of relationship influence. Although we found many inconsistencies in these dimensions based on the theoretical perspectives that informed our expectations it is clear that relational domains are more considerably complex than indicated by current models of cultural differences (Hofstede, 2001; S. H. Schwartz, 1999; Triandis, 1995). Identity development is a very personal process (Del Prado et al., 2007; Gaertner et al., 2002) and the importance of context for how relationships define the self seems to be undervalued.

What is clear is the value of psychological aspects in interpersonal relationships. Our research found that cognitive outcomes are consistently valued. Individuals may have emphasized cognitive outcomes in their relationship descriptions because they understand the way in which these help develop a coherent sense of self. Interpersonal relationships provide individuals with the psychological resources to structure their reality and to make sense of their place within their social context (Berzonsky, 2004). The cognitive impact of relationships would therefore allow individuals to realize their personal goals while navigating social demands and cultural expectations.

Finally, for Research Question 3, we examined the association between sources of identification and personal and social dimensions of identity. Here too we found some similarity in the models. At least at a configural level, the basic model structure and patterning of paths seem similar across contexts (Milfont & Fischer, 2010), even with the addition of the direct link between personal sources and personal identity. In both contexts the structural weights model indicated that sources of identification were positively associated with identity. However, the more restrictive model identified (Structural Residuals Model) in the South African context led us to believe that the data fits the model somewhat better in this context. In the Dutch context, for individuals from the Dutch mainstream group personal sources was negatively associated with the latent sources of identification factor. This pointed towards the fact that Dutch mainstreamers seemed to value personal aspects differently than the Western and non-Wetsern immigrant groups, as they considered personal source of identification as very distinct from other sources. Thus, questions regarding distinctiveness and belonging (Brewer 1991; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2010) seem to be different across contexts, and may require different questions to understand how intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects relate to each other. Nonetheless, the questions regarding the role of sources of identification in identity were answered. In addition, the inclusion of the humanitarian sources seemed successful in both South Africa and the Netherlands.

Implications and Recommendations

Several implications and recommendations should be considered. Our study shows that personal and individuated characteristics of identity are important for the development and negotiation of identity as originally conceptualized by Erikson (1968) in his stages of human development. A strong sense of self develops through interaction with others and the environment (Gaertner et al., 2002). It is therefore pertinent that future research more closely considers the importance of individual goals, values, emotions, and beliefs as highlighted in the personal dimension of identity in combination with the social and relational dimensions of identity that account for the roles and groups individuals consider important for their identities.

The Sources of Identification scale accounts for general categories of significant others (e.g., family and friends) and in-groups (e.g., religious, ethnic, and cultural groups). Although this provides a general view of these sources, refining the scale to account for specific significant others or in-groups may provide more information regarding the role of

relationships as sources of identification. In addition, our consideration of the humanitarian self seemed relevant mainly for non-Western groups; this finding is contrary to Western theoretical perspectives that highlight it as a predominantly Western value (S. H. Schwartz, 1999; Hofstede, 2001). We recommend additional inquiry, possibly qualitative using focus groups to make sense of this significant difference, and to understand the actual role it plays in identity construction in both groups.

Finally, our multimethod measurement of identity provided a lot of insight into expressions of identity. This research found, in accordance with previous studies (Del Prado, 2007; Grace & Cramer, 2003; E. S. Kashima & Hardie, 2000), that self-description and self-report measures may tap into distinct constructions of identity. However, these measures are both able to provide information about an individual's identity and both have predictive value, specifically in relation to psychological well-being. Having found at least some convergence between self-descriptions and self-report measures of identity in both contexts, the associations may be indicative of the important links between these measures. In addition, this lack of convergence may also be due to these aspects of identity being more distinct in a particular context (Del Prado et al., 2007), and due to individuals not having a clear understanding of how their implicit conceptualization of self informs their identities (Berzonsky, 2011). These processes may be both automatic and intuitive and take place at a subconscious level. More refinement of particularly self-descriptive measures of identity as well as uniformity in coding protocol is needed to tap into cognitive structures that underlie identity construction.

Limitations

This study is not without limitations. The primary limitation relates to the samples in both countries. Firstly, the differences in the samples did not allow us to make direct comparisons and to focus on differences as any observed differences may have been due to differences in the samples. We therefore chose to focus on what was similar across these contexts. It is important that in future research, comparable samples be considered when investigating similar concepts across different multicultural contexts. Secondly, in South Africa, we could not distinguish the Coloured and Indian groups clearly from the Black and White groups. It may very well be that these groups are culturally situated between the Black and White groups, and that our sampling did not allow us to access important identity information for these groups. It may be important to consider individual studies focusing

specifically on these groups. The Black and White groups are also heterogeneous, and it would be beneficial to investigate aspects related to identity by considering the different ethnolinguistic groups subsumed under these labels. Thirdly, in the Netherlands, we categorized immigrants as either Western or non-Western; but these groups are also heterogeneous. The small cross-group differences may therefore be due to culturally distinct (from Dutch mainstream society) groups being combined with culturally integrated groups. This may present a slightly distorted representation of the reality actually present in the Dutch context.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the identity process requires the synthesis and integration of personal and social dimensions to mediate the tensions involved in managing multiple aspects of an individual's identity. Practically speaking, sources of identification may provide insight into identity negotiation processes that would help us better understand intergroup interactions, acculturative stress, or even to some degree life choices. Theoretically, identity clearly extends beyond the basic premises of the trichotomous model (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Irrespective of context (Dutch or South African) or group membership (the Coloured group or non-Western immigrant group) individuals negotiate their identities by drawing from a combination of personal and relational, social, and humanitarian sources. Moreover, these sources essentially inform the identity negotiation, construction, and maintenance process.

Chapter 8

General Discussion

General Discussion

The objective of this final chapter is to provide a general discussion that integrates and synthesizes the empirical work presented in this thesis, in accordance with the conceptual model presented in Figure 1.1 (Chapter 1). The chapter begins with an overview of the main research questions and empirical findings. This is followed by a discussion that attempts to make sense of identity in an integrated manner. This results in the provision of a comprehensive definition of identity as it stems from this body of work and the presentation of an adapted conceptual model. The chapter concludes with implications and provides recommendations for future research.

Relating Expectations to Empirical Findings

In Section I: Bourne Identity, we investigated ethnic identity, and its widely acknowledged relationship with psychological well-being in the sub-Saharan context, specifically in Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, and Zambia, and compared the sub-Saharan context with a mainstream group in the United States of America (Research Question 1; see Chapter 2). In Chapter 3, we investigated the comparability of personal and social identity dimensions in economically affluent (Spain), economically poor (India and Kenya), monocultural (Chile), and highly multicultural (Indonesia and South Africa) countries (Research Question 2). In both Chapters 2 and 3, where we used Western emic measures, we examined the underlying structures of the identity and psychological well-being association across groups (Research Question 3).

We found that ethnic identity was most salient in South Africa and least salient in the US. These results suggest that groups that are more exposed to ethnic strain in multicultural societies tend to have more salient ethnic identities (Chapter 2). These results were quite similar to the results for ethnic identity reported in Chapter 3, where the addition of personal and religious identity yielded results that showed that (a) personal and ethnic dimensions of identity were important in both Western and non-Western contexts, and (b) that religious identity is important in religiously diverse contexts. In Chapter 3, across countries, the most variance was explained in religious identity, with national affluence being negatively associated with religious identity. Chapter 3 revealed that across groups personal and social dimensions of identity served as indicators of a latent factor identity. This latent factor was

positively associated with psychological well-being, and personal identity, rather than social identity dimensions, seemed to be more strongly associated with well-being. It was clear from both Chapters 2 and 3 that the underlying mechanisms that link identity and well-being did not differ significantly across countries and cultural groups, even when there are differences in identity dimensions across countries.

In Section II: Bourne Ultimatum, we investigated self-descriptions (Chapter 4) and other-descriptions (Chapter 5) across different ethnocultural groups (Black, Coloured, Indian, and White) in South Africa (Research Question 4). We wanted to identify constituent dimensions of identity (Research Question 5), and the theoretical frameworks that would inform these dimensions (Research Question 6). In both Chapters 4 and 5, we used the emic approach to inform our measurement of identity dimensions. This approach was operationalized using a qualitative measure similar to the TST.

We found that trait theory, individualism–collectivism cultural value structures, independence–interdependence self-construal, SIT, Attribution Theory, and models of self-enhancement provided the theoretical bases for identifying several constituent dimensions of identity: attributes, relational orientation, situational specifications, and ideological references (used in Chapter 4). Two additional dimensions, valence and social distance, were added when considering other-descriptions (Chapter 5). In both chapters, we found cross-cultural similarities; namely, independent, individualistic, context-free, and dispositional descriptions were prevalent in all groups.

However, this overwhelming similarity was accompanied by some differences. We found that relational orientation dimensions of self- and other-identity provided a better conceptual framework than individualism-collectivism. More specifically, personal orientation (individualism) and collective membership orientation (collectivism) are situated at the endpoints of the relational orientation dimension with implicit and explicit relational orientation placed between these two poles. The most salient differences were between the Black and White ethnocultural groups in implicit and explicit relational orientation categories. The Black group was more likely than the White group to specify target persons in relational self-descriptions. This would suggest a stronger in-group – out-group distinction in the Black group. In addition, in Chapter 5 we found that the identity of distal individuals was described in less abstract and more norm-regulated terms than the identity of proximal individuals. This

indicated that individuals described distal others in more concrete and contextual terms, while describing themselves and proximal others in more abstract terms.

While these studies largely confirmed our expectations for the Black and White groups, this was not the case for the Coloured and Indian groups. The latter two groups seemed quite distinct from the Black and White groups, and seemed to fit between these two groups psychologically.

In Section III: Bourne Supremacy, we investigated (through a Western etic approach) the association between identity, group orientation, and psychological well-being (Research Question 7) in Black and White South Africans (Chapter 6). We considered several Western theoretical models and perspectives related to identity and group orientation to investigate psychological segregation in South Africa. It was evident that these perspectives were somewhat limited, as they could not fully account for the complexity presented by a non-Western multicultural society such as South Africa, as in this context there is no clear mainstream or majority group who holds both political and economic power. It seemed that both Black and White South Africans were psychologically similar to both majority/mainstream groups and minority/immigrant groups in Western contexts. This is possibly due to the importance of the perceived threat experience by individuals in these groups, which cannot be ignored when studying identity in these groups. While it was clear that the underlying structures of the relationship between identity, in-group and out-group orientation, and psychological well-being were similar across groups, there were significant differences in how these groups related to each other.

In Chapter 7, we studied (using both emic and etic measures) intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects of identity in two different contexts. The first context was a non-Western context, South Africa, where we developed the notion of relational orientation and sources of identification. The second context was a Western context, the Netherlands, where we theoretically replicated the first study from the first context in order to validate our assumptions about the importance of relational aspects for identity. We investigated whether relational orientation in self-descriptions converges with sources of identification in a self-report measure (Research Question 8). There was limited convergence between free self-descriptions and self-report measures. We found confirmation for cross-cultural differences in the South African groups found in Chapters 4 and 5, while it was difficult to distinguish between non-Western and Western groups in the Netherlands. We then examined whether

interpersonal relationships are important for identity (Research Question 9). We found that although there is much congruence with several theoretical perspectives, contextual aspects clearly have a pronounced impact on how relationships influence identity, and therefore an individual's relational schema. Finally, we tested the assumption that sources of identification are positively associated with personal and social dimensions of identity (Research Question 10). We found support for the underlying structure for the relationships between sources of identification and personal and social identity dimensions, with some differences in the role of personal sources for sources of identification across contexts.

Adapted Conceptual Model of Identity

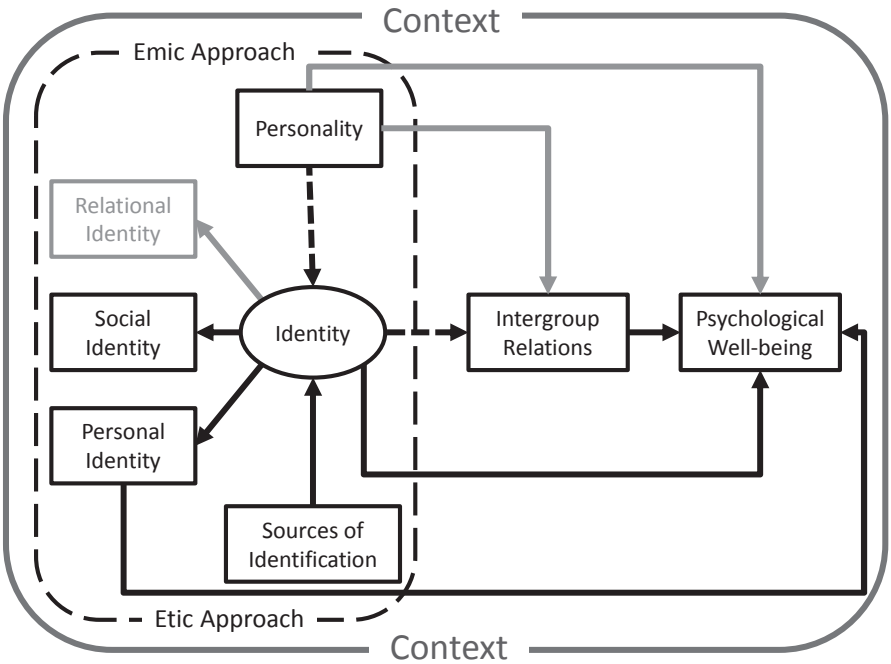

Figure 8.1 Adapted Integrated Model of Measurement and Dimensionality of Identity and its association with Psychosocial Functioning

Note. The staggered arrows account for associations assessed in this thesis without causality. Faded constructs and arrows indicate associations not assessed in this thesis

In the conceptual model presented in Figure 1.1 (see Chapter 1), personal, social and relational dimensions of identity were interrelated and served as indicators of a latent identity factor. As our primary focus was on personal and social identity, relational identity was faded. This latent identity factor predicted certain psychosocial outcomes. Personality served as a predictor of identity and psychosocial outcomes, with the latter association not accounted for in this thesis and therefore faded in the model. Finally, the original conceptual model accounted for the use of emic and etic measurement approaches and context relevance for identity and outcome variables.

In Figure 8.1, we provide an adapted model based on the research findings presented in this thesis. As can be seen, the original model remained largely intact, but with a few alterations and additions. In total, two alterations were made. First, as we used in-group and out-group orientation as a proxy for intergroup relations, we tested its association with identity without specifying causality (see Chapter 6). The direct association between identity and intergroup relations was altered to account for this change. Second, we accounted for personality in terms of dispositional characteristics (see Chapters 4 and 5). However, as we could not assess the influence on identity, the direct association was also altered to account for this change. Furthermore, two additions were also made. First, a direct link between personal identity and psychological well-being was added, as personal identity has come to the fore as a significant indicator of psychological well-being beyond social dimensions of identity (Chapters 3 and 6). Second, we added the variable sources of identification (Chapter 7) as a predictor of identity.

Defining Identity Comprehensively

Throughout this thesis, identity has been defined in multiple ways depending on its role within a specific chapter and, as the subtitle of this thesis suggests, we anticipated dealing with a diverse and complex construct and further anticipated that 'the identity of identity' would be in question. However, we found that no matter how we defined identity, it always consisted of three components (the self, the other, and the context) and their interaction. We propose the following comprehensive definition of identity as we came to understand it within the context of this thesis:

Identity is the conscious and unconscious process of negotiating a meaningful sense of self. The individual draws on personal, relational, and social sources, as well as general

humanity as sources to inform who they are; identity is both stable (informed by physical or biological characteristics) and fluid (informed by choices and decisions). Individuals construct and negotiate their identities from a personal perspective, and through engaging in relationships as well as the social context. Their identities are informed by the relationships and social contexts in which they are engaged. As individuals establish who they are from both an intra- and interpersonal perspective, they are provided with the psychological tools that help them navigate the complexities in defining themselves through their relationships, their social groups, and their contexts.

An Integrated View of Identity

Identity, as a Western (North American, Western European) conceptualization (Erikson, 1950; 1968; Marcia; 1966), has traditionally been studied in contexts with majority (dominant and mainstream) and minority (non-dominant and immigrants) groups. Existing theory suggests that personal identity is important for mainstream Western groups who maintain more individualistic values, while social identity is important for immigrant, non-Western groups. While Ashmore et al. (2004) argued for a clear distinction between personal identity (intrapersonal characteristics) and social (collective) identity (connectedness to social groups), these dimensions seem related and intertwined. We found that personal and social dimensions of identity are empirically related, and serve as indicators of a latent identity factor (Chapters 3 and 7). It seems clear that the integrated, interrelated conceptualization, which combines personal and social dimensions of identity, is important for understandings individuals' self-definitions (Rodriguez et al., 2010).

The establishment of a unique, distinguishable personal identity emphasized by individual and intrapersonal characteristics remains socially embedded. Individuals define themselves within a social context (Jenkins, 2008), and socially related identity issues are pertinent to the way in which they make decisions about their identities (Jeldtoft, 2011). Individuals do not define themselves in vacuums and, as much as they strive to be unique, they strive to be a part of something greater than themselves. Identity, even personal identity, is inherently social. The "who and what I am" cannot exist without the "who and what I am a part of". Identity is a process of meaning creation in which the social context provides the platform through which identity is negotiated (B. G. Adams & Crafford, 2012). Therefore, we would consider a holistic perspective of identity, encompassing both intra- and interpersonal

considerations towards answering questions about the nature of the self, to be more inclusive. Whilst it may be impossible to present an exhaustive view of identity, in this thesis we propose that combining personal and social identity dimensions in empirical research serves the purpose of practically embodying interrelated aspects pertinent for optimal human functioning.

We have established that combining personal and social dimensions is important for psychological well-being irrespective of context (Chapters 2, 3, and 6). However, it remains evident that different identity dimensions still play separate but equal roles for identity. Firstly, in the only chapter that considered the relationship between identity and group orientation (as a proxy for intergroup relations; see Chapter 6), out-group orientation was related to social identity dimensions and not to personal identity. This is in line with SIT and SCT theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1999). However, in the same chapter it was clear that personal identity was significantly related to the social identity dimensions, which informed group orientation. Therefore, as much as personal identity is related to individual goals, values, and beliefs (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2010), it is also associated with the norms, values, and beliefs embedded in membership, commitment, and connectedness to the social groups or units (Chapter 6).

In view of this finding it is important to appreciate the role personal identity has in shaping a coherent sense of self. This role seems consistent across both emic (qualitative; Chapters 4, 5, and 7) and etic (quantitative; Chapters 3, 6, and 7) approaches used to measure identity. Personal identity is central to the individual's self-definition, irrespective of context. It seems crucial to the identity negotiation process as it serves as the basis from which identity decisions are made (Gaertner et al., 2002, see also Chapter 7 of this thesis). This raises the question of whether it would be possible to speculate that identity negotiation is universal, in the sense that, similar to Western, individualistic conceptions, personal identity is an internal process, whereby individuals search for meaning about themselves from within themselves (Phinney, 2000). In this sense identity negotiation also provides non-Western adolescents, youth and adults with the psychological tools to engage and manage relational, social, cultural, and contextual life spheres (Dovidio et al., 2005; Gaertner et al., 2002).

Considerations of personality (particularly the Big Five) may therefore also be pertinent to how identity is informed. As can be seen in Chapters 4 and 5, personality and identity are both theoretically and empirically related (Lounsbury et al., 2007; McAdams &

Pals, 2006; Stryker, 2007). It may be that different groups express dispositional personality characteristics differently. For example, the preference descriptions used by Black South Africans in their self- and other-descriptions may be indicative of underlying traitedness (see Church et al., 2006). In addition, the presence of relational aspects may be the consequence of contextual specification often considered in non-Western groups (De Raad et al., 2008). It seems clear that we need to provide a better understanding of the underlying structures that link personality to identity to enhance our model of identity

In addition, the importance of relating to others, even unknown others, should not be ignored. Theoretically, the individual self, the relational self, and the collective self are considered primary constructs in self-conception (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Chen et al., 2006), and this theory may require some extension. It is evident in Chapter 7 that individuals, particularly in non-Western contexts, define themselves through personal aspects, relational aspects, social aspects, and humanitarian or communal aspects. The combination of Western perspectives represented by the agency-communion continuum (McAdams, 1995) as well as social psychological perspectives such as optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 1999), and the distinctiveness, belonging motives (Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2012) associated with non-Western (Asian and African) perspectives that support the argument for considering the largest social entity as represented by humanity, are important if we want to gain a holistic view of what informs who we are. *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu or Ubuntu* 'I am a person through other people', (Bamford, 2007; Nussbaum, 2003) or the Japanese self-concept of *Seken*, 'the self in relation to society', emphasizes this interconnectedness of self and humanity. The importance of humanity for identity stretches beyond the collectivism cultural value or interdependent self-construal (Oyserman et al., 2002), towards capturing the meaning of the Zulu greeting, *Sawubona,* which means 'We see you'. This may well be another important contributor towards the self-concept, as it speaks to when we acknowledge or 'see' others, or when others acknowledge or 'see' us (Chapter 7).

Theoretical Implications

Firstly, we extended the study of identity to non-Western and/or multicultural contexts, enlarging the contextual scope of identity research beyond the Western contexts where it is traditionally studied. We have taken into consideration contexts that do not necessarily have a particular dominant group. In South Africa in particular, we have confirmed

the limitations of individualism-collectivism as a perspective considering intergroup or interpersonal relations and to some extent confirmed the perspectives provided by SIT. Our studies have established that in contexts with no clear dominant group there are different psychological dynamics at play. It is important that discussions concerning the way in which identity informs intergroup relations are extended outside academic realms, as these may have major implications for local, regional, and national integration policies in both Western and non-Western contexts.

Secondly, combining personal and social dimensions of identity has confirmed the importance of individual characteristics and personal identity for both psychological well-being (Chapter 3 and 6) and the general individuated self-concept (Chapter 4, 5, and 7), across both Western and non-Western contexts. This is especially interesting in relation to multicultural contexts where we would expect social aspects to be more salient for the self-definition (see Chapters 2 and 3). Individual goals, values, and aspirations are as important for defining the individualized self as they are for defining one's space in relation to others, social groups, and general society. It is important for future researchers to continue combining personal and social identity dimensions. It is also clear that the complexity of modern society, combined with the fact that individuals are becoming more aware of identity choices and alternatives previously not available to them (such as education, careers, and life partners), has resulted in individuals having more options than before as to how they define themselves.

Finally, as stated in Chapter 7, the multimethod (qualitative and qualitative) measurement of identity associated with emic and etic approaches to identity measurement may be an important consideration in future identity studies. It is evident that these methods measure identity in very different ways, gaining access to distinct characteristics of identity not always considered in single-method studies (Del Prado et al., 2007). From the emic perspective, we identified several constituent dimensions of identity, which provided insight into the structure of identity. By considering both self- and other-descriptions, we were able to establish both cultural similarities and differences in South Africa. This perspective accommodated extending the individualism–collectivism dichotomy and developing a measure to consider the importance of relating to others in identity. This new measure allowed us to access context specific identity structures present in a non-Western context, which we were then able to apply to a multicultural Western context with some success.

Future research may benefit from the continued use of both emic and etic approaches in the study of identity. The convergence between the emic and etic measures in Chapter 7 in the South African context suggests that although these measures encompass very distinct aspects of identity, they may be somewhat related and complementary. These unique features of identity may add additional value to our current knowledge of identity. More refinement of particularly self-descriptive measures (and self-reports) of identity and uniformity in coding protocol may be needed to tap into cognitive structures that underlie identity construction. From this thesis the importance of personal aspects of identity and their importance in regulating relational and social aspects are evident.

Practical Implications

This study has practical implications for educators, counselors, professionals, and policy makers in relation to understanding identity in majority world contexts such as sub-Saharan Africa, South America, or Asia, as well as for non-Western groups in Western contexts. The underlying structure of identity seems to be similar across groups, irrespective of origin or context. This is important, as identity plays a crucial role, in both Western and non-Western groups and contexts, in how individuals and groups relate to one another and their overall psychological well-being. For example, in plural or multicultural contexts such as schools and organizations where individuals would mainly encounter persons with backgrounds different from their own, it is important to understand how their identities influence their interactions with others, their behaviors, and their overall psychological functioning.

Firstly, this study has practical implications for educators and counselors working with adolescents, youth, and emerging adults in educational setting, youth centers, or social groups. When these individuals have difficulty adjusting to either the context and individuals or groups (different from their own), their self-definitions or identities may be an important consideration. For example, adolescents who come across as aggressive towards others or express bullying behavior may feel threatened within the context. Here, the sources of identification scale together with personal and social identity measures may enlighten educators and counselors about which aspects these adolescents emphasize most when defining themselves (e.g. group membership). This may aid educators and counselors in designing interventions tailored towards helping them promote identity exploration, an important step towards developing a robust flexible sense of self, thus enhancing their

personal identity, which is important for psychological well-being, and promoting social (in-group) identification, in a manner that promotes good intergroup relations

Secondly, for professionals and practitioners who specialize in work and organizational settings, similar strategies may apply. However, professionals need to take note of the life stages specific to individuals and groups before designing interventions. For example, when working in a context where the organization is in the process of becoming more diverse, it is important to realize that individuals in an aging, monocultural context may not be open to such changes. They may feel threatened by the unknown, possibly due to a different cultural, age, or gender groups entering the organization. They may also feel less valued by the organization or context and experience reduced satisfaction with work or increased mental strain (related to psychological well-being). It would therefore be crucial for work or organizational professionals and practitioners to consider how another stage of identity exploration, where individuals come to terms with fears and anxieties that hinder their overall psychosocial functioning and ultimate productivity would be beneficial for a more harmonious transformation.

Finally, policy makers need to be aware of the impact identity has on any changes that they envision at community, institutional, and national levels. It may be important to first engage with all parties, and discuss how changes and proposed 'improvements' may influence how groups view themselves, their in-groups and other (out-) groups. We propose forums aimed specifically at dealing with promoting a healthy sense of identity both at a personal and societal level. Individuals who are more secure with themselves are more open to change and environmental challenges. In the globalizing and constantly changing contexts in which most individuals find themselves this may be an asset at individual, community, institutional, and national levels.

Limitations and Recommendations

This thesis is not without limitations. Firstly, we reiterate one of our primary limitations as highlighted in Chapter 7, related to the Coloured and Indian groups in South Africa. In the consideration of these groups in Chapters 4, 5, and 7, we could not distinguish the Coloured and Indian groups clearly from the Black and White groups. It seems likely that these two groups are culturally and psychologically situated between the Black and White groups, and that our sample did not allow us to access important identity information for

these groups. It may be important to consider individual studies that focus specifically on these groups. These groups are minority groups in South Africa, and are heavily understudied. In addition, the Black and White groups are heterogeneous, and it would be beneficial to investigate aspects related to identity by considering the different ethnolinguistic groups subsumed under these group labels. Future studies should consider identity at an ethnolinguistic level across the Black and White South African groups.

Secondly, due to the lack of relational identity data (related to the importance of specific roles for identity and the negotiation of these roles with relevant others), we were unable to fully test our conceptual model. It is clear that relationships play an important part in the identity negotiation process. The very fact that this aspect is what differentiates cultural groups in a non-Western context (Black and White South Africans; see Chapters 4, 5, and 7) speaks to the importance of relationships. It may be important for future studies to provide a more integrated theoretical base for exploring the relational aspects of identity we have developed here and their association with relational identity and the relational self. It seems evident that personal and social identity dimensions are robust, while relational aspects of identity seem somewhat more fragmented. Relational aspects of identity seem more related to personal and social dimensions of identity than relational identity (social roles that define us), which may require an in-depth reconceptualization to account for the importance of how relating to others would inform an integrated coherent sense of self.

Another limitation is that we were unable to assess the conceptual model in its totality. Although we have theorized several important links and pathways between identity, personality, and psychosocial outcomes, there are still several possible open research questions, related to causality and associations. These include: (a) Does identity fully mediate the relationship between personality and psychological outcomes? (b) Which roles across Western and non-Western groups and contexts would best serve as indicators for identity? (c) How would sources of identification be related to personality if both seem to inform identity? These questions would make for interesting follow-up research projects.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has contributed to the theory and research on identity in several ways. Firstly, by extending the study of identity to non-Western and/or multicultural contexts, the thesis has enlarged the contextual scope of identity research beyond the Western contexts

where it is traditionally studied. Secondly, by considering identity from both an emic and etic perspective, using mixed qualitative and qualitative methodologies, the thesis has assessed the applicability of the Western conceptualization of identity in non-Western contexts. Thirdly, from the emic perspective this thesis has contributed with the identification of several constituent dimensions of identity, which provided insight into the structure of identity in both self- and other-descriptions. Fourthly, in South Africa in particular, the studies reported in this thesis have found some limitations in relation to the individualism-collectivism theoretical perspective. This thesis found that in contexts with no clear dominant group there are different psychological dynamics at play from those encapsulated in the individualism-collectivism cultural dimensions. Finally, it is evident from this thesis that personal aspects of identity are important and may play an important role in informing relational and social aspects of identity.

References

Abele, A. E., & Wojciszke, B. (2007). Agency and communion from the perspective of self versus others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*, 751-763. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.751

Abubakar, A., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Fischer, R., Alonso-Arbiol, I., He, J., Adams, B. G., ... Harb, C. (2013a). *Invariance of factorial structure of the Brief Multidimensional Student Life Satisfaction Scale across cultural contexts* (in preparation).

Abubakar, A., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Fischer, R., Alonso-Arbiolo, I., He, J., Adams, B. G., ... Harb, C. (2013b). *Invariance of factorial ctructure of the General Health Questionnaire-12 across 19 cultural contexts* (in preparation).

Abubakar, A., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Mazrui, L., Arasa, J., & Murugami, M. (2012). Ethnic identity, acculturation orientations and psychological well-being among adolescents of immigrant background in Kenya. In C. Garcia-Coll (Ed.), *The impact of immigration on children's development. Contributions to human development* (pp. 49-63). Basel, Switzerland: Kargel.

Abu-Rayya, H. M. (2006a). Ethnic identity, ego identity, and psychological well-being among mixed-ethnic Arab-European adolescents in Israel. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 24*, 669–679. doi:10.1348/026151005X59196

Abu-Rayya, H. M. (2006b). Ethnic self-identification and psychological well-being among adolescents with European mothers and Arab fathers in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30*, 545-556. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.10.003

Abu-Rayya, H. M., & Abu-Rayya, M. H. (2009). Acculturation, religious identity, and psychological well-being amongst Palestinians in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 33*, 325-331. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.05.006

Adams, B. G., & Crafford, A. (2012). Identity at work: Exploring strategies for identity work. *South African Journal of Industrial Psychology, 38*, 11 pages. doi:org/10.4102/sajip.v38i1.904

Adams, H. (1995). The politics of ethnic identity: Comparing South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18, 457 -475. doi:10.1080/01419870.1995.9993874

Alberts, C., Mbalo, N. F., & Ackerman, C. J. (2003). Adolescents' perceptions of the relevance of domains of identity formation: A South African cross-cultural study. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 32*, 169–184. doi:10.1023/A:1022591302909

Alesina, A., Devleeschauwer, A., Easterly, W., Kurlat, S., & Wacziarg, R. (2003). Fractionalization. *Journal of Economic Growth, 8*, 155-194. doi:10.2139/ssrn.319762

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Andersen, S. M., & Chen, S. (2002). The relational self: An interpersonal social-cognitive theory. *Psychological Review, 109*, 619-645. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.109.4.619

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55*, 469–480. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.55.5.469

Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin, 130*, 80-114. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.130.1.80

Athiemoolam, L. (2003, September). *South Africa's peaceful transition to democracy: Nine years of peace in a troubled world*. Paper presented at the Second Peace as a Global Language Conference, Gotanda, Tokyo. Retrieved from http://www.zsn.unioldenburg.de/en/download/Logan_Japan_Conference.pdf

Baldwin, M. W. (1997). Relational schemas as a source of if-then self-inference procedures. *Review of General Psychology, 1*, 326–335. doi:10.1037/1089-2680.1.4.326

Bamford, R. (2007). Nietzsche and Ubuntu. *South African Journal of Philosophy, 26*, 85-97. doi:10.4314/sajpem.v26i1.31464

Basque Statistics Office. (2011). http://en.eustat.es/idioma_i/indice.html#axzz2v2LsQDlS

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin, 117*, 497-529. doi:10.1037//0033-2909.117.3.497

Becker, M., Vignoles, V. L., Owe, E., Brown, R., Smith, P. B., Easterbrook, M., ... Ymakoğlu, N. (2012). Culture and the distinctiveness motive: Constructing identity in individualistic and collectivistic contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102*, 833-855. doi:10.1037/a0026853

Berzonsky, M. D. (2004). Identity processing style, self-construction, and personal epistemic assumptions: A social cognitive perspective. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 4*, 303-315, doi:10.1080/17405620444000120

Berzonsky, M. D. (2011). A social-cognitive perspective on identity construction. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 55 -76). New York, NY: Springer

Bester, A. (2008). *The establishment of implicit perspectives of personality among Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa*.(Unpublished master's thesis). Northwest University, Potchefstroom, South Africa.

Biddle, B. J. (1986). Recent developments in role theory. *Annual Review of Sociology, 12*, 67-92. doi:0360-0572/86/08 15-0067

Bond, M. H., & Cheung, T. (1983). College students' spontaneous self-concept: The effect of culture among respondents in Hong Kong, Japan and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 14*, 153-171. doi:10.1177/0022002183014002002

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African-Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*, 135–149.

Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*, 475-482. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.135

Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues, 55*, 429–444. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00126

Brewer, M. B., & Chen, Y. (2007). Where (who) are collectives in collectivism? Toward conceptual clarification of individualism and collectivism. *Psychological Review, 114*, 133-151. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.114.1.133

Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. L. (1996). Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self-representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*, 83-93.doi:10.1037/0022-3514.71.1.83

Brewer, M. B., & Pierce, K. L. (2005). Social identity complexity and outgroup tolerance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*, 420-437. doi:10.1177/0146167204271710

Brittian, A. S. (2012). Understanding African American adolescents' identity development: A relational developmental systems perspective. *Journal of Black Psychology, 38*, 172-200. doi:10.1177/0095798411414570

Brown, A. (2004). Engineering identities. *Career Development International, 9*(3), 245-273. doi:10.1108/13620430410535841

Brown, R. (2000). Social Identity Theory: Past achievements, current problems, and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 30*, 745-778. doi:10.1002/1099-0992(200011/12)

Caldwell-Harris, C. L. (2012). Understanding atheism/non-belief as an expected individual-differences variable. *Religion, Brain & Behavior, 2*, 4-23, doi:10.1080/2153599X.2012.668395

Caste, A. D., & Burke, P. J. (2002). A theory of self-esteem. *Social Forces, 80*, 1041-1068. doi:10.1353/sof.2002.0003

Celenk, O., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2012). Perceived antecedents of marital satisfaction among Turkish, Turkish-Dutch, and Dutch couples. *International Journal of Psychology, 48*, 1165-1175. doi:10.1080/00207594.2012.741242

Census India. (2011). http://censusindia.gov.in/

Central Intelligence Agency. (2011). *The world factbook*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/ index.htm

Central Intelligence Agency. (2013). *The world factbook*. Washington, DC: Author.Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.htm

Chen, S., Boucher, H. C., & Tapias, M. P. (2006). The relational self revealed: Integrative conceptualization and implications for interpersonal life. *Psychological Bulletin, 132*, 151–179. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.132.2.151

Cheung, F. M., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Leong, F. T. L. (2011). Toward a new approach to the study of personality in culture. *American Psychologist, 66*, 593-603. doi:10.1037/a0022389

Cheung, F. M., Leung, K., Zhang, J. X., Sun, H. F., Gan, Y. G., Song, W. Z., & Xie, D. (2001). Indigenous Chinese personality constructs: Is the Five-Factor Model complete? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*, 407-433. doi:10.1177/0022022101032004003

Chilean Census. (2012). http://www.censo.cl/index.html

Choi, I., Nisbett, R. E., & Norenzayan, A. (1999). Causal attribution across cultures: Variation and universality. *Psychological Bulletin, 125*, 47-63. doi:10.1037//0033-2909.125.1.47

Church, A. T. (2009). Prospects for an integrated trait and cultural psychology. *European Journal of Personality, 23*, 153-182. doi:10.1002/per.700

Church, A. T., Katigbak, M. S., Del Prado, A. M., Oritz, F. A., Mastor, K. A., Harumi, Y., ... Cabrera, H. F. (2006). Implicit theories and self-perceptions of traitedness across cultures:

Towards integration of cultural and trait psychology perspectives. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37*, 694-716. doi:10.1177/0022022106292078

Church, A. T., Katigbak, M. S., Miramontes, L. G., Del Prado, A. M., & Cabrera, H. F. (2007). Culture and the behavioural manifestation of traits: An approach of act frequency approach. *European Journal of Personality, 21*, 389–417. doi:10.1002/per/631

Clancy, S. M., & Dollinger, S. J. (1993). Identity, self, and personality: I. Identity status and the Five Factor Model of Personality. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 3*, 245–277. doi:10.1207/s15327795jra0303 2

Collins, W. A., Laursen, B., Mortensen, N., Luebker, C., & Ferreira, M. (1997). Conflict processes and transitions in parent and peer relationships: Implications for autonomy and regulation. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 12*, 178-198. doi:10.1177/0743554897122003

Crabtree, S. (2010, August 31). *Religiosity highest in world's poorest countries Gallup Global Reports*. Retrieved from http://www.gallup.com/poll/142727/religiosity-highest-world-poorest-nations.aspx

Cramer, D. (2006). *Advanced quantitative data analysis*. New York, NY: Open University Press.

Crocetti, E., Scrignaro, M., Sica, L. S., & Margin, M. E. (2012). Correlates of identity configuration: Three studies with adolescent and emerging adult cohorts. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 41*, 732-748. doi:10.1007/s10964-011-9702-2

Crocetti, E., Sica, L. S., Schwartz, S. J., Serafini, T., & Meeus, W.H. J. (2013). Identity styles, dimensions, statuses, and functions: Making connections among identity conceptualizations. *European Journal of Applied Psychology, 63*, 1-13. doi:10.1016/j.erap.2012.09.001

Dandy, J., Durkin, K., McEvoy, P., Berber, B. L., & Houghton, S. (2008). Psychometric properties of Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) scores with Australian adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *Journal of Adolescence, 31*, 323-335. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2007.06.003

De Raad, B., Sullot, E., & Barelds, D. P. H. (2008). Which of the Big Five are in need of situational specification? *European Journal of Personality, 22*, 269-289. doi:10.1002/per.668

Deaux, K. (1993). Reconstructing social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19,* 4-12. doi:10.1177/0146167293191001

Del Prado, A. M., Church, A. T., Katigbak, M. S., Miramontes, L. G., Whitty, M. T., Curtis, G., ... Reyes, J. A. S. (2007). Culture, method and the content of self-concepts: Testing trait, individual self-primacy, and culture psychology perspectives. *Journal of Research in Personality, 41*, 1119-1160. doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2007.02.002

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dimitrova, R., Bender, M., Chasiotis, A., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2012). Ethnic identity and acculturation of Turkish-Bulgarian adolescents. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 37*, 1-13. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2012.04.005

Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2007). Intergroup contact and attitudes towards the principle and practice of racial equality. *Psychological Science, 18*, 867-872. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.01993.x

Dixon, J., Tropp, L. R., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2010). "Let them eat harmony": Prejudice-reducing strategies and attitudes of historically disadvantaged groups. *Current Directions in Psychology, 19*, 76-80. doi:10.1177/0963721410363366

Doane, A. W. Jr., (1997). Dominant group ethnic identity in the United States: The role of "hidden" ethnicity in intergroup relations, *The Sociological Quarterly, 38*, 375-397. doi:10.1111/j.1533-8525.1997.tb00483.x

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Niemann, Y. F., & Snider, K. (2001). Racial, ethnic, and cultural differences in responding to distinctiveness and discrimination on campus: Stigma and common group identity. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*, 167-188. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00207

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Pearson, A. R., & Riek, B. M. (2005). Social identities and social context: Attitudes and personal wellbeing. In S. R. Thye, & E. J. Lawler (Eds.), *Advances in group processes: Social identification processes in groups* (pp. 231-260). Oxford, United Kingdom: Elsevier.

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Saguy, T. (2009). Commonality and the complexity of "we": Social attitudes and social change. *Personality and Social Psychological Review, 13*, 3-20. doi:10.1177/1088868308326751

Dumont, K., & Van Lill, B. (2009). Dominant and non-dominant groups' responses to social change: The economic transformation process in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology, 39*, 432-447. doi:10.1177/008124630903900405

Dwairy, M. (2002). Foundations of psychosocial dynamic personality theory of collective people. *Clinical Psychology Review, 22*, 343–360. doi:10.1016/s0272-7358(01)00100-3

Easterbrook, M., & Vignoles, V. L. (2012). Different groups, different motives: Identity motives underlying changes in identification with novel groups. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 38*, 1066-1080. doi:10.1177/0146167212444614

Eaton, L., & Louw, J. (2000). Culture and self in South Africa: Individualism-collectivism predictions. *Journal of Social Psychology, 140*, 210-217. doi:10.1080/00224540009600461

Elder, T. J., Douglas, K. M., & Sutton, R. M. (2006). Perceptions of social influence when messages favour "us" versus "them": A closer look at the social distance effect. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 36*, 353-365. doi:10.1002/ejsp.300

Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society*. New York, NY: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York, NY: Norton.

Ferguson, G. M., & Adams, B. G. (2013). *Americanization in the Rainbow Nation: Remote acculturation and well-being of South African emerging adults*. (submitted for review)

Ferguson, G. M., & Bornstein, M. H. (2012). Remote acculturation: The "Americanization" of Jamaican Islanders. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 36*, 167-177. doi:10.1177/0165025412437066

Ferguson, G. M., Bornstein, M. H., & Pottinger, A. M. (2012). Tridimensional acculturation and adaptation among Jamaican immigrant adolescent-mother dyads. *Child Development, 83*, 1486-1493. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01787.x

Ferguson, H. (2009). *Self-identity and everyday life*. New York, NY: Routledge

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS* (3rd ed.). London, United Kingdom: Sage Publication Ltd.

Fijneman, Y. A., Willemsen, M. E., & Poortinga, Y. H. (1996). Individualism–collectivism: An empirical study of a conceptual issue. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 27*, 381–402. doi:10.1177/0022022196274001

Finchilescu, G., & Dawes, A. (1998). Catapulted into democracy: South African adolescents' sociopolitical orientations following rapid social change. *Journal of Social Issues, 54*, 563-583. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.1998.tb01236.x

Finchilescu, G., Tredoux, C., Mynhardt, J., Pillay, J., & Muianga, L. (2006). Accounting for lack of interracial mixing amongst South African university students. *South African Journal of Psychology, 37*, 720-737. doi:10.1177/008124630703700404

Fischer, R., Ferreira, M. C., Assmar, E., Redford, P., Harb, C., Glazer, S., ... Achoui, M. (2009). Individualism-collectivism as descriptive norms: Development of a subjective norm approach to culture measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 40*, 187-213. doi:10.1177/0022022109332738

Fiske, A. P. (2002). Using individualism and collectivism to compare cultures - A critique of the validity and measurements of the constructs: Comment on Oyserman et al. (2001). *Psychological Bulletin, 128*, 77-88. doi apa.org/journals/bul/128/1/78

Fiske, S. T., & Cox, M. G. (2006). Person concepts: The effect of target familiarity and descriptive purpose on the process of describing others. *Journal of Personality, 47*, 136–161. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1979.tb00619.x

Ford, D. Y., Harris, J. J., III, & Scheurger, J. M. (1993). Racial identity development among gifted black students: Counseling issues and concerns. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 71*, 409–417. doi:10.1002/j.1556-6676.1993.tb02657.x

French, S. E., Seidman, E., Allan, L., & Aber, L. (2006). The development of ethnic identity during adolescence. *Developmental Psychology, 42*, 1-10. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.42.1.1

Furrow, J. L., King, P. E., & White. K. (2004). Religion and positive youth development: Identity, meaning, and prosocial concerns. *Applied Developmental Science, 8*, 17-26. doi:10.1207/S1532480XADS0801_3

Gabriel, S., & Gardner, W. L. (1999). Are there "his" and "her" types of interdependence? The implications of gender differences in collective and relational interdependence for affect, behavior, and cognition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*, 642–655. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.77.3.642

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. *European Review of Social Psychology, 4*, 1-26. doi:10.1080/14792779343000004

Gaertner, S. L., Sedikides, C., Vevea, J. L., & Luzzini, J. (2002). The "I", the "we", and the "when": A meta-analysis of motivational primacy in self-definition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 574-591. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.83.3.574

Geenen, R., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (1993). A simple test of the Law of Initial Values. *Psychophysiology, 30*, 525-530. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8986.1993.tb02076.x

Georgas, J., Berry, J. W., van de Vijver, F. J. R., Kagitcibasi, C., & Poortinga, Y. H. (Eds.), (2006). *Families across cultures: A 30-nation psychological study*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

George, D., & Mallery, P. (2003). *SPSS for Windows step by step: A simple guide and reference. 11.0 update* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Gibson, J. L. (2006). Do strong group identities fuel intolerance? Evidence from the South African case. *Political Psychology, 27*, 665-705. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2006.00528.x

Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Polity.

Glaser, D. (2010). Class as a normative category: Egalitarian reasons to take it seriously (With a South African case study). *Politics & Society, 38*, 287-309. doi:10.1177/0032329210373068

Goldberg, D. (1972). *The detection of psychiatric illness by questionnaire*. London, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Government Gazette. (1998). Republic of South Africa (Vol. 400(19370)). Cape Town, 19 October 1998.

Grace, S. L., & Cramer, K. L. (2003). The elusive nature of self-measurement: The self-construal scale versus the twenty statements test. *Journal of Social Psychology, 143*, 649–668. doi:10.1080/00224540309598469

Green, E. G. T., Dechamps, J., & Páez, D. (2005). Variations of individualism and collectivism within and between 20 countries: A typological analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 36*, 321–339. doi:10.1177/0022022104273654

Griessel, L., & Kotzé, M. (2010). The cultural identity of white Afrikaner women: A post-Jungian perspective. *Acta Academica, 42*(2), 63-87.

Guan, Y., Verkuyten, M., Fung, H. H-I., Bond, M. H., Chen, S, X., & Chan, C. C. (2011). Out-group value incongruence and intergroup attribute: The roles of common identity and multiculturalism. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 35*, 377-385. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.04.007

Heine, S. J. (2003). Making sense of East Asian self-enhancement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 34*, 596-602. doi:10.1177/0022022103256481

Hewstone, M., & Swart, H. (2011). Fifty-odd years of intergroup contact: From hypothesis to integrated theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 50*, 374-386. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02047.x

Ho, D. Y. F. (1991). Relational orientation and methodological individualism. *Bulletin of the Hong Kong Psychological Society, 26/27*, 81-95.

Hofstede, G. H. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hogg, M. A., Terry, D., J., & White, K. M. (1995). A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 58*, 255-269. doi:10.2307/2787127

Hornsey, M. J., & Jetten, J. (2004). The individual within the group: Balancing the need to belong with the need to be different. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 3*, 248-264. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0803_2

Howe, C., Heim, D., & O'Conner, R. (2013). Racism, identity and psychological well-being: A longitudinal perspective on politically embattled relations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1-16. doi:10.1080/01419870.2013.835057

Hu, L., & Benter, P. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modelling, 6*, 1-55. doi:10.1080/10705519909540118

Huebner, E. S., Seligson, J. L., Valois, R. F., & Suldo, S. M. (2006). A review of the Brief Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction Scale. *Social Indicators Research, 79*, 477-484. doi:10.1007/s11205-005-8208-2

Hui, C. H., & Triandis, H. C. (1989). Effects of culture and response format on extreme response style. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 20*, 296–309. doi:10.1177/0022022189203004

Human, L. (1996). Competencies for managing diversity: What South African managers need. In E. M. Steyn, & K. B. Motshabi (Eds.), *Cultural synergy in South Africa: Weaving strands of Africa and Europe* (pp. 171-183). Randburg, South Africa: Knowledge Resources.

Humphreys, M., Posner, D. N., & Weinstein, J. M. (2002, September). *Ethnic identity, collective action and conflict: An experimental approach*. Paper presented at American Political

Science Association, Boston, MA. Retrieved from http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p65138_index.html

Jackson, T. (1998). Managing change in South Africa: Developing people and organisations. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 10*, 306–326. doi:10.1080/095851999340576

Jeldtoft, N. (2011). Lived Islam: Religious identity with 'non-organized' Muslim minorities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34*, 1134-1151. doi:10.1080/01419870.2010.528441

Jenkins, R. (2008). *Social identity.* New York, NY: Routledge

Johnson, L. R., Kim, E. H., Johnson-Pynn, J. S., Schulenberg, S. E., Balagaye, H., & Lugumya, D. (2011). Ethnic identity, self-efficacy, and intercultural attitudes in East Africa and U.S. *Youth. Journal of Adolescent Research, 27*, 256-289. doi:10.1177/0743558411412955

Joreskog, K. G., & Goldberger, A. S. (1975). Estimation of a model with multiple indicators and multiple causes of a single latent variable. *Journal of the American Statistical Association, 70*, 631-639.

Josselson, R. (2012). The "We of Me": Barack Obama's search for identity. In R. Josselson, & M. Harthway (Eds.), *Navigating multiple identities: Race, gender, culture, nationality, and roles* (pp. 39-58). New York, NY: Oxford University Press

Joyce, P. (2009). *Cultures of South Africa: A celebration*. Cape Town, South Africa: Sunbird Publications.

Kagitcibasi, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for self and family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 36*, 403-424. doi:10.1177/00220022105275959

Kammrath, L. K., Mendoza-Denton, R., & Mischel, W. (2005). Incorporating If...Then...personality signatures in person perception: Beyond the person-situation dichotomy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*, 605–618. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.88.4.605

Kashima, E. S., & Hardie, E. A. (2000). The development and validation of the Relational, Individual, and Collective Self-Aspects (RIC) Scale. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 3*, 19–48. doi:10.1111/1467-839X.00053

Kashima, Y., Kashima, E. S., Kim, U., & Gelfand, M. (2006). Describing the social world: How is a person, a group and a relationship described in the East and the West? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42*, 388-396. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2005.05.004

Kenyan Census (2009). https://international.ipums.org/international/resources/enum_materials_pdf/enum_instruct_ke2009.pdf

Kocan, S. E., & Curtis, G. J. (2009). Close encounters of the initial kind: Implicit self-esteem, name-letter similarity, and social distance. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 31*, 17-23. doi:10.1080/01973530802659752

Kreiner, G. E., Hollensbe, E. C., & Sheep, M. L. (2006). Where is the "me" among the "we"? Identity work and the search for optimal balance. *Academy of Management Journal, 49*, 1031–1057. doi:10.5465/AMJ.2006.22798186

Kriel, M. (2010). Culture and power: The rise of Afrikaner nationalism revisited. *Nations and Nationalism, 16*, 402-422. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00443.x

Kruger, S. (2006). *The establishment of implicit perspectives of personality in Sesotho-speaking South Africans*. (Unpublished master's thesis). Northwest University, Potchefstroom, South Africa.

Kuhn, M. H., & McPartland, T. S. (1954). An empirical investigation of self-attitudes. *American Sociological Review, 19*, 68-76. doi:10.2307/2088175

Kuusisto, A. (2009). Growing up within a religious community: A case study of Finnish Adventist youth. *Journal of Empirical Theology, 22*, 47-69. doi:10.1193/157092509X437215

Kuwayma, T. (1982). The reference other orientation. In N. R. Rosenberger (Ed.), *Japanese sense of self* (pp. 121-151). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Laher, S. (2008). Structural equivalence and the NEO-PI-R: Implications for the applicability of the Five-Factor Model of Personality in an African Context. *South African Journal of Industrial Psychology, 34*(1), 76-80.

Laher, S., & Quy, G. (2009). Exploring the role of spirituality in the context of the Five Factor Model of Personality in a South African sample. *Journal of Psychology in Africa, 19*, 509-516.

Laubscher, L. R. (2003). Suicide in a South African town: A cultural psychological investigation. *South African Journal of Psychology, 33*(3), 133–143.

Lee, M. Y., Sapp, S. G., & Ray, M. C. (1996). The Reverse Social Distance Scale. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 136*, 17-24. doi:10.1080/00224545.1996.9923025

Licata, L., Sanchez-Mazas, M., & Green, E. G. T. (2011). Identity, immigration, and prejudice in Europe: A recognition approach. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 895-916). New York, NY: Springer

Lopez, A. B., Huynh, V. W., & Fuligni, A. J. (2011). A longitudinal study of religious identity and participation during adolescence. *Child Development, 82*, 1297-1309. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01609.x

Lounsbury, J. W., Levy, J. J., Leong, F. T. L., & Gibson, L. W. (2007). Identity and personality: The Big Five and narrow traits in relation to sense of identity. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 7*, 51-70. doi:10.1080/15283480701319641

Low, J. M., Akande, D., & Hill, C. (2005). A cross-cultural comparison of identity development: South Africa and the United States. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 5*, 303–314. doi:10.1207/s1532706xid0504 1

Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18*, 302-318. doi:10.1177/0146167292183006

Ma, V., & Schoeneman, T. J. (1997). Individualism versus collectivism: A comparison of Kenyan and American self-concepts. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 19*, 261–273. doi:10.1207/s15324834basp1902 7

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 5*, 551–558. doi:10.1037/h0023281

Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Andelson (Ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159-242). New York, NY: Wiley.

Marcia, J. E. (1983). Some directions for the investigation of ego development in early adolescence. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 3*, 215–223. doi:10.1177/0272431683033004

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1998). The cultural psychology of personality. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 29*, 63-87. doi:10.1177/0022022198291004

Matsumoto, D., Hee Yoo, S., & Fontaine, J. (2009). Hypocrisy or maturity? Culture and context differentiation. *European Journal of Personality, 23*, 251-264. doi:10.1002/per.716

Mattes, R. (2004). *Understanding identity in Africa: A first cut.* (Working Paper, 2004-38). Cape Town, South Africa: Afrobarometer. Retrieved from http://www.google.nl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCEQFj

AA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fhawk.ethz.ch%2Fserviceengine%2FFiles%2FISN%2F98574%2Fipublicationdocument_singledocument%2Fc87adde9-51e6-4c14-9f9a-e10c7dfbd843%2Fen%2FAfropaperNo38.pdf&ei=PfaYUPX4LIGf0QWlqYHQDg&usg=AFQjCNFh2l7ww53ur29r3NBbe9FOXnhZAQ

McAdams, D. P. (1995). What do we know when we know a person? *Journal of Personality, 63*, 366-396. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1995.tb00500.x

McAdams, D. P. (1996) Personality, modernity, and the storied self: A contemporary framework for studying persons, psychological inquiry. *An International Journal for the Advancement of Psychological Theory, 7*, 295-321. doi:10.1207/s15327965pli0704_1

McAdams, D. P., & Pals, J. (2006). A new big five: Fundamental principles for an integrative science of personality. *American Psychologist, 61*, 204-217. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.61.3.204

McCrae, R., & Costa, P. T. (2003). *Personality in adulthood: A five factor theory perspective*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Meeus, W. H. J., Iedema, J., Helsen, M., & Vollebergh, W. (1999). Patterns of adolescent identity development: Review of literature and longitudinal analysis. *Developmental Review, 19,* 419-461. doi:10.1006/drev.1999.0483

Meeus, W. H. J., Oosterwegel, A., & Vollebergh, W. (2002). Parental and peer attachment and identity development in adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence, 25*, 93-106. doi:10.1006/jado.2001.0451

Meiring, D. (2007). *Bias and equivalence of psychological measurement in South Africa*. Ridderkerk, The Netherlands: Labyrint Publication.

Meiring, D., Van de Vijver, A. J. R., & Rothmann, S. (2006). Bias in an adapted version of the 15FQ + in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology, 36*, 340-356. doi:10.1177/008124630603600208

Milfont, T. L., & Fischer, R. (2010). Testing measurement invariance across groups: Applications in cross-cultural research. *International Journal of Psychological Research, 3*, 111-121.

Mohololа, F. M. (2007). *Intergroup attitudes of black learners attending a multiracial school and black learners attending a single race school.* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Møllersen, S., & Holte, A. (2008). Ethnicity as a variable in mental health research: A systematic review of articles published 1990-2004. *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry, 62*, 322-328. doi:10.1080/08039480802044414

Mosso, C., Rabaglietta, E., Briante, G., & Ciairano, S. (2010). Beliefs of social equality and attribution of traits to in-group and out-group peers: A study of Italian children. *Cognition, Brain, Behaviour: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 14*, 47-61.

Munday, J. (2006). Identity in focus: The use of focus groups to study the construction of collective identity. *Sociology, 10*, 81-105. doi:10.1177/0038038506058436

Nan, X. (2007). Social distance, framing, and judgement: A construal level perspective. *Human Communication Research, 33*, 489-514. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.2007.00309.x

Nel, J. A., Valchev, V. H., Rothmann, S., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Meiring, D., & De Bruin, G. P. (2012). Exploring the personality structure in the 11 languages of South Africa. *Journal of Personality, 80*, 915-48. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2011.00751.x.

Netshitenzhe, J., & Chikane, F. (2003). *A nation in the making: A discussion document on macro-social trends in South Africa*. The Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services. Social Sector. The Presidency: Pretoria, South Africa

Nhlapo, A. S. (2009). *Perceptions of interracial friendships held by a black community in Soweto.* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2004). *Sacred and secular: Religion and politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press

Norris, S. A., Roeser, R. W., Richter, L. M., Lewin, N., Ginsburg, C., Fleetwood, S. A., ... van der Wolf, K. (2008). South African-ness among adolescents: The emergence of a collective identity within the birth to twenty cohort study. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 28*, 51-69. doi:10.1177/0272431607308674

Nussbaum, M. (2003) Capabilities as fundamental entitlements: Sen and social justice. *Feminist Economics, 9*, 33–59. doi:10.1080/1354570022000077926

Odell, P., Korgen, K., & Wang, G. (2005). Cross-racial friendships and social distance between racial groups on a college campus. *Innovative Higher Education 29*, 291-305. doi:10.1007/s10755-005-2863-8

Ong'ayo, A. O. (2008). *Political instability in Africa: Where the problem lies and alternative perspectives.* In Stichting Nationaal Erfgoed Hotel De Wereld Wageningen: Afrika: een

continent op drift. Symposium 19th of September, 2008. Retrieved from http://www.diaspora-centre.org/DOCS/Political_Instabil.pdf

Owe, E., Vignoles, V. L., Becker, M., Brown, R., Smith, P. B., Lee, S. W. S, ... Jalal, B. (2012). Contextualism as an important facet of individualism-collectivism: Personhood beliefs across 37 national groups. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 44*, 24-45. doi:10.1177/00220022111430255

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*, 3-72. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.128.1.3

Ozer, D., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2006). Personality and the prediction of consequential outcomes. *Annual Review of Psychology, 57,* 401-421. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.57.102904.190127

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology, 49*, 65-85. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65

Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 7*, 156-176. doi:10.1177/074355489272003

Phinney, J. S. (2000). Identity formation across cultures: The interaction of personal, societal, and historical change. *Human Development, 43*, 27-31. doi:10.1159/000022653

Phinney, J. S., & Ong, A. D., (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*, 271-281. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.271

Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*, 493-510. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00225

Posel, D. (2001). What's in a name? Racial categorisations under apartheid and their afterlife. *Transformation, 47*, 50-74

Pulkinen, L., & Kokko, K. (2000). Identity development in adulthood: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Research in Personality, 34*, 445-470. doi:10.1006/jrpe.2000.2296

Raeff, C., Greenfield, P. M., & Quiroz, B. (2000). Conceptualizing interpersonal relationships in the cultural contexts of individualism and collectivism. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 87*, 59-74. doi:10.1002/cd.23220008706

Realo, A., Allik, J., & Vadi, M. (1997). The hierarchical structure of collectivism. *Journal of Research in Personality, 31*, 93-116. doi:10.1006/jrpe.1997.2170

Reid, A., & Deaux, K. (1996). Relationship between social and personal identities: Segregation or integration? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*, 1084-1091. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.71.6.1084

Rhee, E., Uleman, J. S., Lee, H. K., & Roman, R. J. (1995). Spontaneous self-descriptions and ethnic identifies in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*, 142–152. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.69.1.142

Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 10*, 336–353. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr1004_4

Roberts, R. E., Phinney, J. S., Masse, L. C., Chen, Y. R., Roberts, C. R., & Romero, A. (1999). The structure of ethnic identity of young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 19*, 301-322. doi:10.1177/0272431699019003001

Roccas, S., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). Social identity complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6*, 88-106. doi:10.1207/S15327957PSPR0602_01

Rodriguez, L., Schwartz, S. J., & Whitbourne, S. K. (2010). American identity revisited: The relation between national, ethnic, and personal identity in a multiethnic sample of emerging adults. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 25*, 324-349. doi:10.1177/0743558409359055

Roodt, G. (2009). Personality and values. In S. P. Robbins, T. A. Judge, A. Odendaal, & G. Roodt (Eds.), *Organisational behaviour: Global and Southern African perspectives* (pp. 90–116). Cape Town, South Africa: Pearson Education South Africa.

Rosenthal, D. A., Gurney, R. M., &, Moore, S. M., (1981). From trust on intimacy: A new inventory for examining Erikson's stages of psychosocial development. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 6*, 525-537. doi:10.1007/bf02087944

Ryff, C. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological wellbeing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57*, 1069–1081. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.57.6.1069

Saucier, G., & Goldberg, L. R. (2001). Lexical studies of indigenous personality factors: Premises, products, and prospects. *Journal of Personality, 69*, 847-879. doi:10.1111/1467-6494.696167

Schalk-Soekar, S. (2007). *Multiculturalism: A stable concept with many ideological and political aspects*. (Published doctoral thesis). Tilburg University, Tilburg, The Netherlands.

Scherpenzeel, A. C., & Das, M. (2010). "True" longitudinal and probability-based Internet panels: Evidence from the Netherlands. In M. Das, P. Ester, & L. Kaczmirek (Eds.), *Social and behavioral research and the internet: Advances in applied methods and research strategies* (pp. 77-104). Boca Raton, FL: Taylor & Francis.

Schmeichel, B. J., & Baumeister, R. F. (2004). Self-regulatory strength. In R. F. Baumeister & K. D. Vohs (Eds.), *Handbook of self-regulation: Research, theory, and application* (pp. 84-98). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Schwartz, S. H. (1999). Cultural value differences: Some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 48*, 23-47. doi:10.1111/j.1464-0597.1999.tb00047.x

Schwartz, S. J. (2009). Culture matters: National value cultures, sources, and consequences. In R. S. Wyer, C.-Y. Chiu, & Y.-Y. Hong (Eds.), *Understanding culture. Theory, research, and application* (pp. 127-150). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

Schwartz, S. J., Adamson, L., Ferrer-Wreder, L., Dillon, F. R., & Berman, S. L. (2006). Identity status measurement across contexts: Variations in measurement structure and mean levels among White American, Hispanic American, and Swedish emerging adults. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 86*, 61-76. doi:10.1207/s15327752jpa8601_08

Schwartz, S. J., Côté, J. E., & Arnett, J. J. (2005). Identity and agency in emerging adulthood: Two developmental routes in the individualization process. *Youth and Society, 37*, 201-229. doi:10.1177/0044118X05275965

Schwartz, S. J., Klimstra, T. A., Luyckx, K., Hale, W. W., Frijns, T., Oosterwegel, A., ... Meeus, W. H. J. (2010). Daily dynamics of personal identity and self-concept clarity. *European Journal of Personality, 25*, 373-385. doi:10.1002/pers.789

Schwartz, S. J., & Montgomery, M. J. (2002). Similarities or differences in identity development? The impact of acculturation and gender on identity process and outcomes. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 31*, 359-372. doi:10.1023/A:1015628608553

Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Weisskirch, R. S., & Rodriguez, L. (2009). The relationship of personal and ethnic exploration to indices of adaptive and maladaptive psychosocial

functioning. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 33*, 121-144. doi:10.1177/0165025408098018

Scott, S. G., & Lane, V. R. (2000). A stakeholder approach to organizational identity. *Academy of Management Review, 25*, 43–63. doi:10.2307/259262

Sedikides, D., Gaertner, S. L., & Vevea, J. L. (2005). Pancultural self-enhancement reloaded: A meta-analytic reply to Heine (2005). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89*, 539-551. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.89.4.539

Seekings, J. (2008). The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 26*, 1-25. doi:10.1080/02589000701782612

Sidanius, J., Devereux, E., & Pratto, F. (1992) A comparison of Symbolic Racism Theory and Social Dominance Theory as explanations for racial policy attitudes. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 132*, 377-395. doi:10.1080/00224545.1992.9924713

Simon, B. (2004). *Identity in modern society: A social psychological perspective*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.

Singelis, T. M., Triandis, H. C., Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Gelfand, M. J. (1995). Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-Cultural Research, 29*, 240-275. doi:10.1177/106939719502900302

Sluss, D. M., & Ashforth, B. E. (2007). Relational identity and identification: Defining ourselves through work relationships. *Academy of Management Review, 32*, 9-32. doi:10.5465/AMR.2007.2346367

Smith, P. B. (2011). Cross-cultural perspectives on identity. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 55 -76). New York, NY: Springer

Smith, T. B., & Silva, L. (2011). Ethnic identity and personal well-being of people of color: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 58*, 42-60. doi:10.1037/a0021528

Somech, A. (2000). The independent and interdependent selves: Different meanings in different cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24*, 161-172. doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(99)00030-9

Sonn, J. (1996). Rewriting the "White-is-Right" Model: Towards an inclusive society. In M. E. Steyn, & K. B. Motshabi (Eds.), *Cultural synergy in South Africa: Weaving strands of Africa and Europe* (pp. 1-11). Randburg, South Africa: Knowledge Resources.

Statistics Indonesia. (2010). http://www.bps.go.id/eng/tab_sub/view.php?tabel=1&id_subyek=12

Statistics Netherlands. (2012). www.cbs.nl/statline.

Statistics South Africa. (2010). *Mid-year population estimates*. Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022009.pdf

Statistics South Africa. (2012). *Census 2011: Statistical Release*. Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za/Publications/P03014/P030142011.pdf

Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31,* 240-249. doi:10.1177/0022022100031002006

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23–46). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stryker, S. (2007). Identity theory and personality theory: Mutual relevance. *Journal of Personality, 75*, 1083-1102. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2007.00468.x

Stryker, S., & Serpe, R. T. (1994). Identity salience and psychological centrality: Equivalent, overlapping, or complementary concepts? *Social Psychology Quarterly, 57*, 16-35. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2007.00468.x

Svenningson, S., & Alvesson, M. (2003). Managing managerial identities: Organizational fragmentation, discourse and identity struggle. *Human Relations, 56*, 1163–1193. doi:10.1177/00187267035610001

Swanepoel, C. (2006). *The establishment of implicit perspectives of personality among Tsonga-speaking people in South Africa*. (Unpublished master's thesis). Northwest University, Potchefstroom, South Africa.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Austin, & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Terry, D. J., Hogg, M. A., & White, K. M. (1999). The theory of planned behaviour: Self-identity, social identity and group norms. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 38*, 225–244. doi:10.1348/014466699164149

Tetchiada, S. (2006, November 22). *Cameroon finds little unity in diversity. Mail and Guardian*. Retrieved from http://mg.co.za/article/2006-11-22-cameroon-finds-little-unity-in-diversity

Thom, D. P., & Coetzee, C. H. (2004). Identity development of South African adolescents in a democratic society. *Society in Transition, 35*(1), 183–193. doi:10.1080/21528586.2004.10419113

Trafimow, D., Triandis, H. C., & Goto, G. (1991). Some tests of the distinction between the private self and the collective self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60*, 649–655. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.60.5.649

Tredoux, C. G., & Dixon, J, A. (2009). Mapping the multiple context of racial isolation: The case of Long Street, Cape Town. *Urban Studies, 46*, 761-777. doi:10.1177/0042098009102128

Tredoux, C. G., Dixon, J. A., Underwood, S., Nuñez, D., & Finchilescu, G. (2005). Preserving spatial and temporal dimensions in observational data of segregation. *South African Journal of Psychology, 35*, 412-432. doi:10.1177/008124630503500302

Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Triandis, H. C. (2001). Individualism-collectivism and personality. *Journal of Personality, 69*, 907–924. doi:10.1111/1467-6494.696169

Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, J. G. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 118-128. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.74.1.118

Triandis, H. C., Leung, K., Villareal, M. C., & Clack, F. L. (1985). Allocentric versus idiocentric tendencies: Convergent and discriminant validity. *Journal of Research in Personality, 19*, 395–415. doi:10.1016/0092-6566(85)90008-X

Tsai, J. L., Chentsova-Dutton, J., & Wong, Y. (2002). Why and how researchers should study ethnic identity, acculturation, and cultural orientation. In G. C. Nagayama Hall, & S. Okazaki (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: The science of lives in context* (pp. 41-65). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Turner, J. C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social identity* (pp. 6–34). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell

Valchev, V. H., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Nel, J. A., Rothmann, S. R., Meiring, D., & De Bruin, G. P. (2011). Implicit personality conceptions of the Nguni cultural-linguistic groups of South Africa. *Cross-Cultural Research, 45*(3), 235–266. doi:10.1177/1069397111402462

Van de Schoot, R., Lugtig, P. J., & Hox, J. J. (2012). A checklist for testing measurement invariance. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 9*, 486-492. doi:10.1080/17405629.2012.686740

Van de Vijver, A. J. R., Mylonas, K., Pavlopoulos, V., & Georgas, J. (2006). Results: Cross-cultural analysis of the family. In J. Georgas, J. W. Berry, A. J. R. Van de Vijver, Ç. Kağitçibaşi, & Y. H. Poortinga (Eds.), *Families across cultures: A 30-nation psychological study* (pp. 126-185). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Leung, K. (1997). *Methods and data analysis for cross-cultural research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Rothmann, S. (2004). Assessment in multicultural groups: The South African case. *South African Journal of Industrial Psychology,30*(4), 1–7.

Van Dierendonck, D., Díaz, D., Rodríguez-Carvajal, R., Blanco, A., & Moreno-Jiménez, B. (2008). Ryff's six-factor model of psychological well-being, a Spanish exploration. *Social Indicators Research, 87*, 473-479. doi:10.1007/s11205-0079174-7

Verkuyten, M. (2005). *The social psychology of ethnic identity*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Verkuyten, M. (2008). Life satisfaction among ethnic minorities: The role of discrimination and group identification. *Social Indicators Research, 89*, 391–404. doi:10.1007/s11205-008-9239-2

Verkuyten, M. (2011). Assimilation ideology and outgroup attitudes among ethnic majority members. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations. 14*, 789-806. doi:10.1177/1368430211398506

Verkuyten, M., & De Wolf, A. (2002). Ethnic minority identity and group context: Self-descriptions, acculturation attitudes and group evaluations in an intra- and intergroup situation. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 32*, 781-800. doi:10.1002/ejsp.121

Verkuyten, M., & Yildiz, A. A. (2009). Muslim immigrants and religious group feelings: Self-identification and attitudes among Sunni and Alevi Turkish-Dutch. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 32*, 1121–1142. doi:10.1080/01419870802379312

Vignoles, V. L., Schwartz, S. J., & Luycks, K. (2011). Introduction: Towards an integrative view of identity. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 1-30). New York, NY: Springer

Vogt, L., & Laher, S. (2009). The Five Factor Model of Personality and individualism/collectivism in South Africa: An exploratory study. *Psychology in Society, 37*, 39–54.

Walker, M. (2005). Race is nowhere and race is everywhere: Narratives from black and white South African university students in post-apartheid South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 26*, 41-54. doi:10.1080/0142569042000292707

Watkins, D., Yau, J., Dahlin, B., & Wondimu, H. (1997). The Twenty Statements Test: Some measurement issues. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 28*, 626–633. doi:10.1177/0022022197285007

Watson, T. J. (2008). Managing identity: Identity work, personal predicaments and structural circumstances. *Organization, 15*, 121–143. doi:10.1177/1350508407084488

Weinreich, P. (2009). Identity structure analysis. In P. Weinreich, & W. Saunderson (Eds.), *Analyzing identity: Cross-cultural, societal and clinical contexts* (pp. 7-76). New York, NY: Routledge.

Williams, D. R., Gonzalez, H. M., Williams, S., Mohammed, S. A., Moomal, H., & Stein, D. J. (2008). Perceived discrimination, race and health in South Africa. *Social Science Medicine, 67*, 441-452. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2008.03.021

Willis, G. B. (2005). *Cognitive interviewing: A tool for improving questionnaire design.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

World Bank Group. (n.d.). *GNI per capita, PPP* (current international $) [Data]. Retrieved August 14, 2013, from World Development Indicators (WDI) database. http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD

Worrell, F. C., Conyers, L. M., Mpofu, E., & Vandiver, B. J. (2006). Multigroup ethnic identity measure scores in a sample of adolescents from Zimbabwe. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 6*, 35-59. doi:10.1207/s1532706xid0601_4

Yagmur, K., & Van de Vijver, A. J. R. (2012). Acculturation and language orientation of Turkish immigrants in Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 43*, 1110-1130. doi:10.1177/0022022111420145

Yeh, C. J., & Hwang, M. Y. (2000). Interdependence in ethnic identity and self: Implications for theory and practice. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 78*, 420–429. doi:10.1002/j.1556-6676.2000.tb01925.x

Zimbardo, P. G. (2004). A situationist perspective on the psychology of evil: Understanding how good people are transformed onto perpetrators. In A. Miller (Ed.), *The social psychology of good and evil: Understanding our capacity for kindness and cruelty* (pp. 21-50). New York, NY: Guilford.

Summary

In this thesis we examined, explored, and investigated assumptions and associations relating to an integrated model of identity, its outcomes, and differences and similarities across cultures. Throughout we drew from different theoretical perspectives that provided insight into the conceptualization of identity, as well as into understanding identity in understudied non-Western contexts. This thesis consists of three sections, each containing two empirical chapters.

In Section I: Bourne Identity, we investigated ethnic identity, and its widely acknowledged relationship with psychological well-being in the sub-Saharan counties of Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, and Zambia, and compared these contexts with the mainstream group in the United States of America (Research Question 1) in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, we investigated the comparability of personal and social identity dimensions in economically affluent (Spain), economically poor (India and Kenya), monocultural (Chile), and highly multicultural (Indonesia and South Africa) countries (Research Question 2). In both Chapters 2 and 3, we used Western emic measures to examine the underlying structures of the identity and psychological well-being association across groups (Research Question 3).

Results indicated that ethnic identity was most salient in South Africa, and least salient in the US. These results suggest that groups that are more exposed to ethnic strain in multicultural societies tend to have more salient ethnic identities (Chapter 2). The results for ethnic identity in Chapter 3 were quite similar, where, with the addition of personal and religious identity, we found that (a) personal, and ethnic dimensions of identity were important in both Western and non-Western contexts, and (b) that religious identity is important in religiously diverse contexts. In Chapter 3, across countries, the most variance was explained in religious identity, with national affluence negatively associated with religious identity. Chapter 3 revealed that across groups personal and social dimensions of identity served as indicators of a latent factor identity. This latent factor was positively associated with psychological well-being, and personal identity (more so than social identity dimensions) seemed to be strongly associated with well-being. It was clear from both Chapters 2 and 3 that the underlying mechanisms that link identity and well-being did not differ significantly across countries and cultural groups, even when there are differences in identity dimensions across countries.

In Section II: Bourne Ultimatum, we investigated self-descriptions (Chapter 4) and other-descriptions (Chapter 5) across different ethnocultural groups (Black, Coloured, Indian,

and White) in South Africa (Research Question 4). Here, we wanted to identify constituent dimensions of identity (Research Question 5), and the theoretical frameworks that inform these dimensions (Research Question 6). In both Chapters 4 and 5, we used the emic approach to inform our measurement of identity dimensions, which was operationalized using a qualitative measure similar to the Twenty Statement Test.

We found that trait theory, individualism–collectivism cultural value structures, independence–interdependence self-construal, Social Identity Theory, Attribution Theory, and models of self-enhancement provided the theoretical bases for identifying several constituent dimensions of identity, which we labelled attributes, relational orientation, situational specifications, and ideological references in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, we added two additional constituent dimensions: valence and social distance, when considering other-descriptions. In both chapters, we found a large number of cross-cultural similarities with independent, individualistic, context-free, and dispositional descriptions prevalent in all groups.

However, there were also some differences. We found that relational orientation dimensions of self- and other-identity provided a better conceptual framework than individualism-collectivism. Specifically, we found that personal orientation (individualism) and collective membership orientation (collectivism) are situated at the endpoints of the relational orientation dimension with implicit and explicit relational orientation positioned between these two poles. The most salient differences were between the Black and White ethnocultural groups in the implicit and explicit relational orientation categories. The Black group was more likely than the White group to specify target persons in relational self-descriptions. This would suggest a stronger in-group – out-group distinction in the Black group. In addition, in Chapter 5 we found that the identity of distal individuals was described in less abstract and more norm-regulated terms than the identity of proximal individuals. This indicated that individuals described distal others in more concrete and contextual terms, while describing themselves and proximal others in more abstract terms.

While this study largely confirmed our expectations for the Black and White groups, this was not the case for the Coloured and Indian groups. The latter two groups appeared quite distinct from the Black and White group, and seemed to fit psychologically between these two groups.

In Section III: Bourne Supremacy, we investigated (through a Western etic approach) the association between identity, group orientation, and psychological well-being (Research Question 7) in Black and White South Africans (Chapter 6). We considered several Western theoretical models and perspectives related to identity and group orientation to investigate psychological segregation in South Africa. It was evident that these perspectives were somewhat limited, as they could not fully account for the complexity presented by a non-Western multicultural society such as South Africa, where no clear mainstream or majority group holds both political and economic power. It seemed that both Black and White South Africans were psychologically similar to both majority/mainstream groups and minority/immigrant groups in Western contexts. This is probably due to the importance of perceived threat on these groups, which cannot be ignored when studying these groups. While it was clear that the underlying structures of the relationship between identity, in-group and out-group orientation, and psychological well-being were similar across groups, there were significant differences in how these groups related to each other. .

In Chapter 7, we studied (using both emic and etic measures) intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects of identity. The study first focused on a non-Western context, South Africa, where we developed the notion of relational orientation and sources of identification. The study then shifted to a Western context, the Netherlands, where we theoretically replicated the study in order to validate our assumptions regarding the importance of relational aspects for identity. We investigated whether relational orientation in self-descriptions converges with sources of identification, a self-report measure (Research Question 8). There was limited convergence between free self-descriptions and self-report measures. We found confirmation for cross-cultural differences in the South African groups found in Chapters 4 and 5, while it was difficult to distinguish between non-Western and Western groups in the Netherlands. We then examined whether interpersonal relationships are important for identity (Research Question 9). Although our results were largely in accordance with several theoretical perspectives, it was also clear that contextual aspects have a pronounced impact on how relationships influence identity, and therefore an individual's relational schema. Finally, we tested the assumption that sources of identification are positively associated with personal and social dimensions of identity (Research Question 10). Here, we found support for the underlying structure of the relationships between sources

of identification and personal and social identity dimensions, with some differences in the role of personal sources for sources of identification across contexts.

In conclusion, this thesis contributed to the theory and research on identity in several ways. Firstly, we extended the study of identity to non-Western and/or multicultural contexts, enlarging the contextual scope of identity research beyond the Western contexts where it is traditionally studied. Secondly, we considered identity from both emic and etic perspectives, using mixed qualitative and qualitative methodologies. We assessed the applicability of the Western conceptualization of identity in non-Western contexts. From the emic perspective, we identified several constituent dimensions of identity, which provided insight into the structure of identity by considering both self- and other-descriptions. In South Africa in particular, we found some limitation in the applicability of individualism-collectivism as a theoretical perspective that informed cross-cultural differences in identity and intergroup dynamics. We thus established that in contexts with no clear dominant group there are different psychological dynamics at play. Finally, this thesis clearly evidences the importance of personal aspects of identity, as well as their importance in regulating relational and social aspects of identity.

A cknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank Fons Van de Vijver, Amina Abubakar, and Deon de Bruin. Fons, your humility, complemented by your motivation and drive, has made working with you over the last four years inspiring. Amina, your hardworking spirit is contagious, and you have been a great friend. I am grateful for the manner with which you instill knowledge. Deon, your contribution at the start of this thesis is truly appreciated. Thank you all; this has not been an easy process but working with you has made it worthwhile.

I would like to thank the "promotiecommissie" for taking the time to examine my thesis and agreeing to attend this public defense. Thank you for your feedback and suggestions on the earlier version of this thesis.

I thank all members from the Adolescent and Youth Well-being study, the Identity, Personality, Culture and Well-being study, the Remote Acculturation study, and the SAPI project, who contributed towards the data collection, conceptual feedback, or acted as content and context experts. Your contributions are greatly appreciated. It has been a pleasure to work with you, and I hope to continue our collaboration in future.

Bilge and Jamis, who kindly agreed to stand in as my paranymphs. Bilge, I can always trust you to be honest and forthcoming with me, I appreciate this in our friendship. Jamis, you are a remarkably kind, helpful, and generous soul. Thank you both, for your friendship, support, and assistance with the arrangements for this defense.

My colleagues at the University of Johannesburg, I have learnt much from you over the last eight years, it has been a pleasure working with you. I look forward to many more good years in which we will work well together.

I would like to acknowledge and thank the research assistants and research interns in South Africa (Gabriella du Plessis, Jenna Bowman, Yasmin Dangor, Naledi Madi, Sibusisiwe Mchunu, Boitumelo Molotsi, and Obakeng Dube) and the Netherlands (Eleni Dimitrou, Susanne Geboers, Jiri Wezel, and Olivia Siqueira). Your coordinated research efforts with regard to the data entry, data management, and/or the coding of qualitative data was truly invaluable as often we did not have much time to get things done. Your dedication to the project was great and always appreciated.

My mother and father, thank you for supporting me and always believing in me. You have raised me never to doubt that I could be anything I wanted to be. My grandparents: Ouma Pienkie, and my belated Ouma Lydia and Oupa John, thank you for showing me what humility and love is as well as what it means. To my family (Adams, Louis, and all extensions

thereof), over the last few years we may not have seen much of each other, but when we have, thank you for always "keeping it real". I love you.

My friends (in Tilburg, Johannesburg, and around the world; at home, work, tennis, salsa, and choir), I have in the last several years been surrounded by many wonderful people that it makes it near impossible to mention and acknowledge everyone by name without extending this thesis by another 20 pages (attempted in previous versions). This does not take away from how much I appreciate every single person who has been apart of my life's journey (if you wish to confirm the latter, join me for a coffee or dinner). It has been a pleasure getting to know and spending time with so many wonderful people.

I have been lucky to share this journey with so many beautiful people. It has been incredible, and would have been impossible, often unbearable, and definitely not so much fun without every single one of you. In your own way, you have all made a significant contribution to who I am and who I want to be, I thank you for that. Thank you for the love, support, and joy you have brought to my life, for being yourselves, for sharing that self with me, and for allowing me to share myself with you.

Frank jij bent mijn rots in de branding. Jij motiveert en inspireert me. Jij bent er altijd, mijn bron van kalmte, en jij hebt altijd in mij geloofd. Ik dank je dat jij wie je bent met mij wil delen. Ik hou van je. Ik dank je ook dat je me voorstelde aan je familie (Snijders en Eerland), die mij verwelkoomden en mij net zo thuis lieten voelen hier in Nederland, als ik me gevoeld zou hebben in Zuid-Afrika.

To the God of grace, mercy, and love, I give thanks.

Byron, August 2014

The financial assistance of Tilburg University in the Netherlands, the University of Johannesburg in South Africa, the National Research Foundation (NRF) of South Africa, and the South Africa Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) towards portions of the research in this thesis is also hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the authors, and are not necessarily to be attributed to these organizations.